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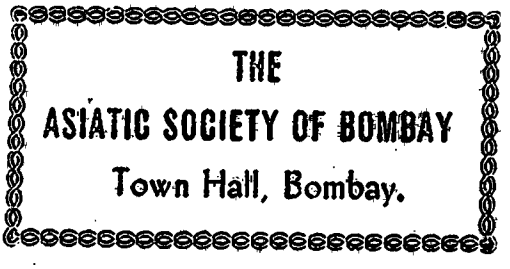

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HISTORY

OF

JEWISH COINAGE

AND OF

Money in the Old and New Testament.

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JEWISH COINAGE,

AND OF

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Money in the Old and New Testament,

686

BY

FREDERIC W. MADDEN, M.R.S.L.

Assistant in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, and Honorary Secretary of the Numismatic Society of London.

WITH 254 WOODCUTS, AND A PLATE OF ALPHABETS,

BY

F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A.

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PREFACE.

THE increased interest taken during the few last years in Numismatic pursuits, not only among those who have made them their peculiar study, but also by a widely spread class of the literary public, would serve perhaps as a sufficient apology for the compilation of the present work, even if the subject—being, as it is, so closely connected with the narratives of the Old and New Testament—did not possess a claim to attention, in some respects superior to that so willingly conceded to other works of a similar but purely ethnical character.

With this view I have ventured to lay before the public the result of a careful examination of the best and latest works of the continental writers on Jewish coins, with considerable additions of my own, by the aid of which it is hoped that both the numismatist and theological student may obtain, in a condensed and methodized form, a correct view of the present state of our knowledge in respect to Jewish and Biblical Numismatics.

It is as well, however, to state that not one of the writers consulted has embraced the entire range of the subject of the Jewish Coinage. Cavedoni has confined himself almost wholly to the coins strictly Jewish, whilst

De Saulcy, though admitting the colonial coins struck at Jerusalem, has not included the Roman series struck after the conquest of the Holy City, nor the coinage issued by the Tetrarchs. Levy also has passed over all these coins in a very cursory manner; and in no work that I am acquainted with, excepting the "*Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*," are the coins not strictly Jewish, that is to say, of the Agrippas under Roman Emperors, Antipas, Philip II. etc. engraved and published. Even in the latter publication they may be considered as non-accessible for any numismatic purpose, since the work is a costly folio, and the plates are executed by the unsuccessful 'Collas process.' Such being the case, it has been thought advisable to engrave every specimen of the coins connected with a Jewish Prince, and an attempt has been made to fix dates for the mintage of the coins of the two Agrippas, hitherto left in an unsatisfactory state. I cannot, however, hope to escape the criticism already passed upon De Saulcy, "that he had not described and illustrated the equally interesting coins of the towns in Judæa favoured with the right of coining, Agrippias or Anthedon, Ascalon, Azotus, Eleutheropolis, Gaza, Nicopolis or Emmaus, and Raphia; as well as the Galilæan and Samaritan towns. To make a *Numismatique Judaïque* complete, they should be treated upon."[1] My apology is, that I confine myself as a rule to the *coins of individuals*, and not to the *coins of places*. The sole exception to this rule is in the case of the "Roman coins struck commemo-

[1] Werlhof, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. Præf. p. xxv.

rative of the capture of Jerusalem," and "the colonial coins of Ælia Capitolina." These latter, it will be granted, have a more intimate relation with the subject than those of any of the other towns.

An additional advantage to the numismatic inquirer will be found, I trust, in the arrangement adopted in the present work, of introducing the coins as woodcuts in immediate connection with the text, and thus avoiding the inconvenience that is often experienced by having the description in one place and the engravings in another.[2]

In concluding these brief prefatory remarks, I feel it incumbent on me to return thanks to those gentlemen who have so kindly assisted me in my labours.

In the first place, my most especial obligations are due to Mr. Edward Wigan, for his great courtesy in allowing me the free use of his valuable cabinet of Jewish coins, from which I have often borrowed examples for my engravings.

To Mr. John Evans, for impressions of several Jewish coins.

To Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, in the British Museum, for his assistance in deciphering the Phœnician inscriptions on the Assyrian bronze lions preserved in the national collection.

To Mr. W. H. Coxe, late Boden Sanscrit scholar of Oxford and Assistant in the Department of Oriental

[2] This plan has also been admirably carried out in the work of M. Müller, entitled *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique*, 3 vols. 4to. Berlin, 1860-62.

Antiquities in the British Museum, for deciphering the cuneiform characters on the Assyrian lions and ducks.

To my friends Mr. Morley Farrow and Mr. W. C. Dobson, for valuable assistance, and to Mr. R. S. Poole, Mr. E. Deutsch and Mr. J. F. W. de Salis, for the obliging manner with which they have at all times answered my inquiries.

Nor can I omit to tender my best thanks to Mr. F. W. Fairholt, for the patience and ability he has shown in copying so admirably some of the more difficult specimens of the Jewish coinage.

FREDERIC W. MADDEN.

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HISTORY OF JEWISH COINAGE.

INTRODUCTION.

PROGRESS OF THE STUDY OF JEWISH COINS.

SUBSEQUENT to the period of the completion of the Talmud, the more ancient Jewish coins with so-called Samaritan inscriptions have been noticed by the old Jewish scholars, and mentioned by them in their writings,[1]—for instance, by Hai Gaon (1020),[2] Maimonides (1190),[3] Nachmanides (1267),[4] Estori-ha-parchi (1322),[5] and at a later period, by Moses Alaschkar (1530)[6] and Asaria

[1] Levy, *Jüdische Münzen*, p. 3; Cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 536.

[2] See his Commentary which appeared in Berlin in 1856, under the title of קובץ מעשי ידי גאונים קדמונים.

[3] See Zunz, *l. c.*

[4] See the letters at the end of his Commentary on the Pentateuch, Pressburg, Letter I. "I found in Aco a coin which bore on one side a budding almond plant, and on the other a kind of vessel. The Cuthæans have read the inscription שקל השקלים and ירושלים הקדושה" Nachmanides had also seen the half shekel. Notwithstanding the false interpretation of the types and inscription, remarks Levy (*l. c.*), the discovery in Aco is worthy of consideration.

[5] See his כפתור ופרח, ed. Edelmann, Berlin, 1852, p. 65. Parchi mentions a shekel (of Simon, the Asmonæan, according to the inscription) weighing 4½ *Dirhem* and 1 *Kirat*.

[6] See his *Rechtsgutachten*, ed. Sabionetta, No. 74, p. 138, "I have seen many kinds of these coins (with old Hebrew inscriptions) shekels

de Rossi (1571);[7] also by some learned Christians of the 16th century, as William Postell,[8] (who first in 1538 transmitted to Paris a representation of a shekel in a wood-cut,) Arias Montanus (1572) and others. But with the publication of Francis Perez Bayer, archdeacon of Valentia, 'on Hebraic-Samaritan coins,'[9] the road towards an accurate knowledge of Jewish coins was first commenced. Bayer had found means, during his travels in Spain and Italy, to collect a considerable number of these coins, and to arrange and interpret them with great ability. The illustrations also are produced in a most perfect manner. This book caused great excitement, as shortly before a German scholar, Olaf Gerhard Tychsen,[1] had endeavoured to point out the spuriousness of all the Jewish coins previously known. Bayer, who had already in his preface refuted the assertions of Tychsen, again more thoroughly defended his opinions, answering further assertions of Tychsen, in his 'Vindication of the Hebraic-Samaritan coins.'[2] From this period to the year 1850 very little additional information was given on the subject of Jewish numismatics.

and half shekels; many bear the inscription 'in the year of the consolation (לנחמת) of Zion, and in the year of any king.' On one piece I saw a *Lulab* bound in the same way as we bind it, and near the tie an *Ethrog*. A German Jew, who understood the letters on coins, told me that he had seen a coin on one side of which there was a Greek inscription והרמש שלהם (Hermes?) and on the other one in old Hebrew (עברי) . . . We also possess small copper coins with the old Hebrew letters."

[7] See his *Meor Enajim*, chap. 56. The shekel of Simon the Asmonæan has been correctly read by Rossi, up to שנ"ד (year 4) which he has read "David's shekel."

[8] *Alphabetum Duodecim Linguarum*, 1538.

[9] *De numis Hebræo-Samaritanis.* Valentiæ Edetanorum, 1781.

[1] *Die Unächtheit der Jüdischen Münzen mit Hebraischen und Samaritanischen Buchstaben bewiesen.* Rostock, 1779.

[2] *Numorum Hebræo-Samaritanorum vindiciæ.* Valentiæ Edetanorum, 1790.

But in the latter year the distinguished numismatist Abbé Cavedoni wrote the 'Numismatica Biblica,'[3] and soon afterwards an appendix to the same. They were both translated into German in 1855 and 1856, by A. von Werlhof.[4] In the meantime, in 1854, M. F. de Saulcy published a work of great excellence, entitled 'Recherches sur la numismatique Judaique,'[5] which was enriched by the publication of all the coins he had collected in his travels through Palestine and Syria. The plates of this latter work are singularly beautiful. The works of Cavedoni and De Saulcy served to keep alive the interest in this branch of science till 1862, when Dr. Levy of Breslau published his 'History of Jewish coins,'[6] a work, to a great extent, based on the second volume of Cavedoni, but offering in the history of the later period of Jewish coinage several new and important attributions.

And what have we in English? The only attempts have been some small essays by J. Yonge Akerman, John Evans and R. Stuart Poole. The first, entitled 'Numismatic Illustrations of the narrative portion of the New Testament,"[7] deals mostly, as its name indicates, with coins of the New Testament. The second by Mr. Evans consists only of a "review of the work of M. de Saulcy;"[8]

[3] *Numismatica Biblica, o sia dichiarazione delle monete antiche memorate nelle Sante Scritture.* Modena, 1850.

[4] *Biblische Numismatik,* von D. Celestino Cavedoni, *aus dem Italienischen übersetzt und mit Zusätzen versehen,* von A. von Werlhof. Hannover, vol. i. 1855; vol. ii. 1856.

[5] Paris, 1854.

[6] *Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen.* Breslau, 1862. Since the publica, tion of the work of Dr. Levy, a small pamphlet by the Abbé Cavedoni has appeared in Italian. *Nuovi studi sopra le antiche monete Giudaiche,* published in the *Annali dell' Inst. di Corrisp. Archeolog.* Roma, 1863.

[7] J. Russell Smith. 1846. Printed also in the *Numismatic Chronicle,* vol. viii. p. 133 *seq.*: and vol. ix. p. 17 *seq.*

[8] *Numismatic Chronicle,* vol. xx. p. 8 *seq.* See also two short papers on 'The Jewish shekel' by J. Cullimore (*Numismatic Journal,* vol. i.

and the third, that of Mr. Poole, is an article (Money) in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, where the same views are maintained as those of Cavedoni in his second volume.[9] From the fact, therefore, that the study of Biblical numismatics has received so large a share of attention from the *savans* of other nations, and has been comparatively neglected in England, we have been encouraged to hope that our own labours will receive the appreciation which the importance of the subject demands, though the manner of treatment may fail to do it entire justice.

The classification of De Saulcy, on account of being written in French, as also from the number of admirable plates illustrating it, has been generally received in England. This is much to be regretted, as we think that other works should have had their share of attention. M. de Saulcy, in our opinion, has given in his work too severe a judgment of the first volume of Cavedoni, when he says (in a *note*) that this book "n'a guére fait avancer la science numismatique hebraique;"[1] for though he (De Saulcy) has certainly much advanced it by publishing many new types, yet Cavedoni's small volume, especially as regards the explanation of the types, shows much more research, and De Saulcy himself was one of the committee who assigned the *prix de numismatique* to M. Cavedoni in 1851, for this very work, as an inadequate recompense, "à tant de services et à des talents aussi distingués."[2] As regards the second volume of Cavedoni, in spite of the objections again raised by De Saulcy,[3] some of

p. 53), and by the Rev. H. J. Rose (*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xvi. p. 89).

[9] Since this was written, a paper has appeared by Mr. Noel Humphreys "on Jewish Shekels" in the *Intellectual Observer* for December, 1863. I have already pointed out its numerous errors. (*The Reader*, December 12th, 1863.)

[1] *Num. Jud.* p. 6. [2] *Revue Numismatique*, 1851, pp. 375-378.

[3] *Rev. Num.* 1857, pp. 280-298.

which we grant are allowable, we consider that had this been written in French instead of Italian and German, and had such plates been added as may be found in De Saulcy, it would have taken its place as the work *par excellence* on Biblical Numismatics. It is now of course partially superseded by the work of Dr. Levy, though even he has acknowledged the value of Cavedoni by quoting from him at almost every page.

It will be unnecessary here to give my readers an account of the classification of M. De Saulcy in detail, as they will find a well-written abstract or *resumé* of the same, to which I have already referred, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,[4] and in Mr. Poole's article, and his attributions of the coins when differing from others more recent and more approved, will be noticed in their proper places in the following pages. We will therefore pass on to the objections of some of those who are not inclined to agree with M. De Saulcy's theories.

Professor Ewald[5] has submitted De Saulcy's work to a lengthened criticism, and rejects altogether the arbitrary assertion that coins were stamped in Jerusalem in the

[4] Vol. xx. p. 8 *seq.* article by John Evans, Esq.

[5] *Gött. Gel. Anz.* No. 65, 1855, p. 641-655, and *Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, No. 8, 1855, quoted by Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. xix. Ewald himself proposes a new classification, dividing the coins bearing Hebrew inscriptions into four classes: 1. Asmonæan coins; 2. Antigonos coins; 3. Siklos coins; 4. Simon coins. He places the Siklos coins (viz. those which have no name of King, Prince, or High-Priest, and the legend 'redemption of Sion,' 'freedom of Sion,' and 'Jerusalem the Holy,') to the time of the first of the two great Roman wars. If this view be adopted, shekels were not struck when permission was granted to the Jews, and during the quiet period of liberty, but during the short and stormy period of the Roman war. (Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. xxiii.) It hardly seems worth while to enter into a long argument against Professor Ewald's theory, as reasons for not adopting it will strike the reader in the criticisms given of De Saulcy's attributions.

reign of Alexander the Great. He says, "The author, De Saulcy, seems to be so sure of his theory, that he assigns the date of all the known coins, on which are found the so-called Aaron's rod that budded, and the sacrificial cup, and some similar ones, to the first four years after the conquest of the Persian Empire, and by placing them together on his first plate, indicates that they are of the High-Priest Jaddua's time. We will only pass over what is unessential, (as for instance we find, on the closest research, that this Jaddua barely lived four years after B.C. 332), and inquire on what rests his assertion that the Jews in Jerusalem had at this time obtained from Alexander full *autonomy*, and the right of stamping money. The author's only ground for the assertion is the account by Josephus of the march of Alexander against Jerusalem, and his marvellous interview with the High-Priest Jaddua. What is the origin of this account, whose prediction it is, and what light it throws upon history he does not seem to have considered, whereas at present it is well-known on how little purely historical ground some of the accounts of Flavius Josephus rest. But even if we should take his account as it stands, Alexander gave the Jews by no means such perfect liberty, that in testimony thereof they might stamp their own coins. He only gave them, what Cyrus had once previously granted them, liberty in all religious matters and defence against the Samaritans, and subsequent history shows how little this liberty had to do with matters of external government. Besides, we are still less able to understand why the liberty granted by Alexander from B.C. 332 should only have lasted four years, and not until the time of his death. Though these coins are not exceedingly scarce none have hitherto been found belonging to a later date than 'the fourth year of the deliverance of Zion.'

"Among other proofs of Jewish coining, at an early

date referred to by the author, is the account given in 2 Maccabees iv. 19, according to which, before the Asmonæan period, the degenerate High-Priest Jason sent three hundred silver drachms as a gift to the Tyrian temple of Hercules, but which not being considered suitable for such a purpose, were disposed of in a different way by the persons to whom they were entrusted. 'These drachms,' says De Saulcy, 'might only have been the half shekels.' But if the persons to whom they were entrusted did not apply them to their destined purpose for this reason, it would surely have been mentioned in the narrative. The account only states that the bearers of the money, after much consideration, were unwilling to bestow on a heathen temple in Tyre a gift sent by a Jewish High-Priest from the treasure of the temple at Jerusalem."

Cavedoni[6] also brings forward some strong arguments against De Saulcy's attribution of the coins, which have always been given to Simon Maccabæus, to the time of Alexander the Great. "Alexander certainly allowed the Jews to live according to their own ordinances, but in no way did he permit them full self-government, and still less the right of stamping their own coins, which depended on a special permission.[7] The shekel which has hitherto been ascribed to Simon the Asmonæan, contained a sixth of copper mixed with the silver,[8] and so do the coins of the last Syrian kings, and of the Parthian kings contemporary with Simon the Asmonæan.[9] This proves that Simon regulated the size and alloy of the money he coined by that of the neighbouring contemporary kings, so that Jerusalem in Alexander's time would have coined tetradrachms of the same weight and value of silver as the

[6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. pp. 7—9.

[7] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. lxxi.; 1 Maccab. xv. 6.

[8] Bayer, *De Num. Hebr.* p. 66.

[9] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. xxv.; vol. iii. p. 542.

Macedonian conqueror.[1] With the view that the shekel in question first was coined in the year of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, De Saulcy can give no reason for the absence of the shekel from the fourth[2] and following years, still less is he able, according to his new view, to give a reason for the utter absence of Simon's coined money, when certainly he was the first of the Asmonæan princes who stamped coin, as Scripture testifies.[3] . . . Simon also paid a numerous army,[4] and it was therefore necessary that he should remain in firm and legal possession of the coins which were called shekels and half-shekels, and distinguished by the name of 'Jerusalem the Holy,' as those of the fourth year were by the inscription of 'the deliverance of Zion.' "[5]

The answer that M. De Saulcy has made to these, as we think, conclusive arguments, may best be given in his own words: "Quant aux monnaies que j'ai rétirées à Simon, frère de Judas Machabée, pour les reporter au temps d'Alexandre le Grand, je persiste plus que jamais à croire que j'ai eu raison d'adopter cette classification, et d'autant plus qu'il n'y a que M. Cavedoni, qui ait refusé

[1] Alexander suppressed all the weights in his empire, excepting the Attic, which he made the lawful standard, and it is not at all likely that he would have allowed the coinage issued by Jaddua to have been on a system different from the Attic. (R. S. Poole, Art. *Money* in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 410.)

[2] The shekel of the *fourth* year has recently been discovered. (See under Simon Maccabæus.)

[3] 1 Maccab. xv. 6.

[4] Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὀψώνια. 1 Maccab. xiv. 32.

[5] "In the important prophecies of Zechariah, where he mentions the happy condition of the Jews under the Asmonæans, we read, *ex ipso* (Judah) *egredietur omnis exactor* [ἐξελαύνων] *simul* (x. 4), which means that Israel had its own exchequer, and that taxes were not paid to a foreign power, but for its own commonwealth (Patritius, *Comment.* I. *de Zachar.* p. 53), and therefore it seems natural that from this time the Jews should first have had money of their own."

de se rendre à l'evidence de cette nouvelle distribution des monuments! Puisque les raisonnements fournis à l'appui de ma classification ne l'ont pas touché, il serait, il me semble, inutile de chercher à le convaincre de la réalité d'un fait généralement admis aujourd'-hui, mais que lui seul se refuse encore à l'accepter " ! ![6]

We have now to deal with the copper coins. De Saulcy has assigned coins to Judas Maccabæus and Jonathan, and gives none of any metal to Simon, of whom we should chiefly expect to find coins. The coins which are given to Judas bear the title of priest and perhaps high-priest, and it is not at all certain that Judas ever had this office.[7] All objections, however, to De Saulcy's attributions are

[6] *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 286. De Saulcy doubtless makes these assertions from the fact of no objections having been raised in France or England. Perhaps not one in ten, in England at least, ever saw Cavedoni's work on 'Jewish coins,' or having seen, could read it, whilst every numismatist could read De Saulcy's. M. de Longpérier in a note to this passage has ingeniously attempted to account for the existence of shekels for *three* years only. In B.C. 332 Alexander entered Jerusalem, and in this year the shekels of the first year were struck. In B.C. 331 those of the second year were struck, and in B.C. 330 those of the third year. During this last year, Alexander succeeded Darius III., (Codomanus) to whom the Jews had formerly sworn fealty (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 8, 9), as King of Asia, and the monetary autonomy ceased. Copper coins of the fourth year were struck, but their issue was soon stopped. This argument will not hold its ground, now that we possess *shekels* of the *fourth year*.

[7] Josephus calls Judas 'high priest of the nation,' and says that he was elected by the people, after the death of Alcimus (*Antiq.* xii. 10, 6). But in the Maccabees (1 Maccab. x. 20), we find that Alcimus did not die till after the death of Judas Maccabæus, and that Alexander conferred the priesthood on Jonathan, the brother of Judas. Indeed, Josephus elsewhere says that 'the *first* of the sons of Asmonæus, who was high-priest, was Jonathan' (*Vit.* sect. 1). The authority of the Maccabees is most to be depended on, though Judas may have held an inferior office under Alcimus, or if elected by the people in opposition to Alcimus, was never confirmed in his post by the Syrian kings.

trifling, in comparison with one which never seems to have struck any inquirer. Mr. Poole says,[8] "These small copper coins have for the main part of their reverse type a Greek symbol, the united cornu-copiæ, and they therefore distinctly belong to a period of Greek influence. Is it possible that Judas the Maccabee, the restorer of Jewish worship and the sworn enemy of all heathen customs, would have struck money with a type derived from the heathen, and used by at least one of the hated family that then oppressed Israel, a type connected with idolatry, and to a Jew as forbidden as any other of the representations on the coins of the Gentiles? It seems to us that this is an impossibility, and that the use of such a type points to the time when prosperity had corrupted the ruling family, and Greek usages once more were powerful in their influence. This period may be considered to commence in the rule of John Hyrcanus, whose adoption of foreign customs is evident in the naming of his sons far more than in the policy he followed."[9]

The coins then that are attributed by De Saulcy to Judas Maccabæus must be assigned to Judas Aristobulus, and those given to Jonathan belong to Alexander Jannæus.[1] After the statements of the various numismatists

[8] Art. *Money*, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 412.

[9] For the origin of the type of the cornucopiæ, see under John Hyrcanus.

[1] De Saulcy objects to these attributions on the ground that Judas Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus each took the title of 'king,' and therefore these coins, which bear that of 'high-priest,' cannot belong to them. He also raises doubts as to the name of Judas belonging to Aristobulus (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 288). Josephus, however, says that Judas kept the *priesthood*, together with the *royal authority*, and that Alexander was both *king* and *high-priest* for twenty-seven years (*Antiq.* xx. 10). The quarrel with the Pharisees might have made Alexander abandon the kingly title and assume the sacerdotal. (See under Judas Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus.) It is Josephus who expressly gives to Aristobulus the name of Judas (*Antiq.* xx. 10).

which we have given above, there can be no doubt that Simon was the first Maccabee who issued Jewish money, and that John Hyrcanus was the first who coined the small pieces with the type of the double cornucopiæ. This theory, which was that of Bayer and Eckhel, is carried out by Cavedoni, who makes besides several new attributions, nearly all of which are adopted by Levy, and this latter numismatist has thoroughly again investigated the whole subject of Jewish coinage, and from the admirable plates of the work of De Saulcy, formed a complete history of Jewish coinage, the various novelties of which will be noticed in their respective places in the following pages.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY USE OF SILVER AS A MEDIUM OF COMMERCE AND TRADE AMONG THE HEBREWS BEFORE THE EXILE.

THE earliest mention, after the Flood, of the use of the precious metals in the Bible is in the history of Abraham, who came back from Egypt "very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold."[1] Though this passage does not imply anything more than 'bullion,' yet we soon find a notice of the use of silver as a medium of exchange. "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money (כֶּסֶף silver) must needs be circumcised."[2] More explicit still is the account of the actual purchase by Abraham of the Cave of Machpelah, in which is related that "Abraham weighed (וַיִּשְׁקֹל) to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver current with the merchant (עֹבֵר לַסֹּחֵר, LXX. *δοκίμου ἐμπόροις*)."[3] Silver as a medium of commerce may also be met with among the nations of the Philistines. Abimelech, king of Gerar, is said to have given to Abraham "a thousand [pieces] of silver."[4] The Lords of the Philistines persuaded Delilah to find out wherein the great strength of Samson lay, on the promise of "eleven hundred [pieces] of silver,"[5] which money (כֶּסֶף silver) she afterwards received.[6] Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal (Gideon) was enabled to form his conspiracy by hiring 'vain and light persons' with the three-score and ten [pieces] of silver taken from the house of Baalberith,[7] and the eleven hundred [shekels] of silver which Micah

[1] Gen. xiii. 2; xxiv. 35. [2] Gen. xvii. 13. [3] Gen. xxiii. 16.
[4] Gen. xx. 16. [5] Judges xvi. 5. [6] Judges xvi. 18.
[7] Judges ix. 4.

stole and then restored, two hundred of which were melted down to form a graven and a molten image,[1] also prove the use of silver in its pecuniary character. The purchase of Joseph by the "Ishmeelites" (Midianites) who "came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt," and who paid for his purchase, "twenty [pieces] of silver,"[2] proves that silver was recognised as a medium of exchange from 'Gilead to Egypt.' By the laws of Moses, men and cattle,[3] the possessing houses and fields,[4] provisions,[5] and all fines for offences[6] were regulated by the value of silver money. The same may be said of the contribution to the Temple,[7] the sacrifice of animals,[8] the redemption of the first-born,[9] and the payment to the seer.[10]

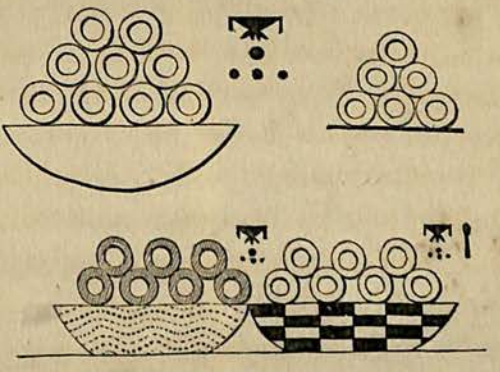
From these passages it appears that *silver* was the metal usually employed for currency, whilst *gold* seems to have been generally used for ornaments and jewellery, or kept in masses ready for use.[11] The jewels borrowed from the Egyptians were of both metals,[12] but Pharaoh put a *gold* chain round the neck of Joseph;[13] and the earrings and bracelets given to Rebekah were also of *gold*.[14] At the siege of Jericho mention is made of two hundred shekels of silver and of a wedge (*Heb.* tongue) of gold (LXX. *γλῶσσαν μίαν χρυσῆν*) of fifty shekels weight.[15] Gold is mentioned in the time of David, as being used by weight to purchase

[1] Judges xvii. 2-4.
[2] Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28.
[3] Levit. xxvii. 3 *seq.*; Numb. iii. 45 *seq.*
[4] Levit. xxvii. 14 *seq.*
[5] Deut. ii. 6, 8; xiv. 26.
[6] Exodus xxi.; xxii.
[7] Exodus xxx. 13, 15; xxxviii. 26.
[8] Levit. v. 15.
[9] Numb. iii. 45 *seq.*; xviii. 15 *seq.*
[10] 1 Sam. ix. 7 *seq.*

[11] In 2 Kings v. 5, mention is made of 'six thousand [pieces] of gold' (LXX. *ἑξακισχιλίους χρυσοῦς*) which Naaman took with him on his journey to the King of Israel. The Authorised Version should doubtless have here read *shekels*, for a weight must be intended.

[12] Exod. iii. 22; xii. 35.
[13] Gen. xli. 42.
[14] Gen. xxiv. 22.
[15] Josh. vii. 21.

the threshing floor of Ornan "for 600 shekels of gold, by weight."[1] The passage in Isaiah[2] has usually been held to refer to gold money—"They lavish gold out of a bag, and weigh silver in the balance." There is, however, no proof that, because gold was kept in a bag, therefore it was *coined money*. Rings of gold, however, may have been employed



as among the Egyptians,[3] and though there are some who deny the existence of a ring-currency, yet a singular confirmation of the fact occurs in the Old Testament. The words נֶזֶם זָהָב (A. V. "earring of gold") are rendered by the LXX. "a tetradrachm of uncoined gold" (*τετράδραχμον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀσήμου*), thus bearing out the idea that the earring or ring presented to Job could be employed as a medium of exchange.[4]

There can thus be no doubt that silver by *weight* was

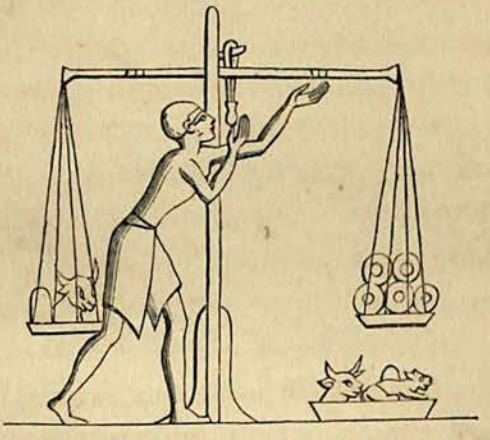
[1] 1 Chron. xxi. 25. This is the only example in the Old Testament of *gold* being used as a medium of commerce, if we except the passage in Job xlii. 11. It is worthy of remark, that in the parallel passage in 2 Sam. xxiv. 24, the price paid for the threshing floor and oxen was 'fifty shekels of *silver*.'

[2] Is. xlvi. 6.

[3] The woodcut of the rings is from Wilkinson's *Popular account of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 149. The hieroglyphics signify 'gold' and 'white gold,' *viz.* silver.

[4] Job xlii. 11. For the question of 'Ring-currency' see several articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, most of them by W. B. Dickinson, Esq. Also consult Mr. Vaux's reply to Mr. Dickinson's theories. (*Num. Chron.* vol. xvi. p. 128 *seq.*)

adopted as a medium of exchange by the Hebrews. "Thou shalt have a perfect and a just weight."[5] The money[6] of the sons of Jacob, which they had taken to Egypt, was returned to them, and they found it "of [full] weight."[7] Among the Egyptians there were public weighers,[8] whose business it was to see that the weight



was just, and their money consisted of rings of gold and silver, which, though represented on many of the monuments of Thebes, have never yet been discovered in the tombs or ruins.[9] Although the Bible in many places makes mention of a balance, it seems hardly likely that it was employed in every transaction of business. Without we suppose that some fixed weight was assigned to single pieces, so as to place it in the form of 'money,' many of the above-quoted passages would be difficult of interpretation. In the large sum of 603,550 half-shekels, which was accumulated by the contribution of each Israelite to the Tabernacle, each individual piece could

[5] Deut. xxv. 15. אֶבֶן, a stone, ver. 13.

[6] 'Bundles of money,' LXX., δέσμοι, Gen. xlii. 35.

[7] Gen. xliii. 21.

[8] The woodcut is from Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abtheilung, iii. lib. 39, No. 3. See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* for weights in the form of a crouching antelope.

[9] Wilkinson, *Popular account of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 149.

hardly have been weighed,[1] nor could the priests, who had charge of the chest set up by Jehoiada near the altar, have weighed every half-shekel before putting it into the hole of the lid, but when the box was full, they put up (*Heb.* bound up) the bags and told (*i.e.* counted) the amount.[2] No mention is here made of weighing, though we may suppose that, after the money was in the bags, it was weighed and the amount *told*. That there were pieces of different denominations we learn from the *half-shekel* which was to be paid as the atonement-money, and from the command "the rich shall not give *more* and the poor shall not give *less*."[3] Again the *quarter-shekel* is mentioned as being 'all the silver' the servant of Saul had, wherewith to pay the seer.[4] It seems impossible to believe that pieces of silver were carried about by men in bags (as was the custom[5]) or otherwise, without having their weights marked on them. If not so, the arrangement of business transactions, the presentation of gifts, or any mode in which the metal was passed from one person to another, must have caused an amount of trouble that we cannot suppose to have existed.

Taking the whole of these facts together, it seems most probable that the Hebrews had even before the Exile *silver pieces of a definite weight*, and used them in trade. By this I do not mean *coins*, which are pieces struck under an authority. It being then admitted that pieces of a certain weight were current before the Exile, why have not the numerous excavations in Palestine, Syria, and Phœnicia discovered an example? Because "the idea of money in modern times, being attached to *medal* money only, such

[1] Exod. xxxviii. 26.

[2] 2 Kings xii. 9 *seq.*; *Cf.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 8 *seq.* The half-shekel that was paid was the amount at which every man was taxed. (Exod. xxx. 13.)

[3] Exod. xxx. 15. [4] 1 Sam. ix. 8, 9.

[5] *Cf.* Gen. xlii. 35; 2 Kings v. 23; xii. 10.

pieces, if found, would not have been noticed, but *melted down.*"[6] Even whilst *current* they were melted down. Shaphan the scribe came to the King Josiah and said "Thy servants have gathered together (הִתִּיכוּ; LXX. ἐχώνευσαν, *melted*),[7] the money that was found in the house and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have oversight of the house of the Lord."[8] The same plan was followed by Darius, who melted the gold and silver into earthen vessels, which when full were removed (*i.e.* broken off), leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, a piece was broken off as necessity required.[9] These passages go far to prove that the bullion before re-issuing was melted and cast into pieces of a certain weight, perhaps even being stamped with some impress.[1]

Some other terms occur in the Old Testament which have been thought to signify some kind of money. It is recorded of Jacob, that he bought a parcel of a field at Shalem "for an hundred *pieces* of money."[2] The word here employed is *kesitah* (קְשִׂיטָה). The same word also occurs in Joshua[3] and Job.[4] Now what is the *kesitah?* The ancient interpreters have understood it to signify 'a lamb,' and the Septuagint renders the word in these three passages by ἑκατὸν ἀμνῶν, ἀμνάδων ἑκατὸν, and ἀμνάδα μίαν. Hence it has been inferred that it was a coin stamped with the figure of a lamb, and representations of the supposed coin have often been given. The coins, however, that are quoted as examples of the *kesitah* belong probably to Cyprus and were not struck till after B.C. 450.

[6] W. B. Dickinson, *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 130.

[7] הִתִּיכוּ *melted*?, but see Ezek. xxii. 20; also cf. Job x. 10, where the same word is employed in the sense of 'pour out' (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. נתך, p. 926).

[8] 2 Kings xxii. 9; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 17. [9] Herod. iii 96.

[1] W. B. Dickinson, *Num. Chron.* vol. vii. p. 94.

[2] Gen. xxxiii. 19. [3] Josh. xxiv. 32. [4] Job xlii. 11.

The real meaning of *kesitah* seems to be 'a portion,' and it is evidently a piece of silver of unknown weight.[5] Mr. Poole, speaking of this word, says, "the sanction of the LXX, and the use of weights having the forms of lions, bulls, and geese, by the Egyptians, Assyrians, and probably Persians, must make us hesitate before we abandon a rendering so singularly confirmed by the relation of the Latin *pecunia* and *pecus*."[6]

The terms רְצִי כֶּסֶף *Ratsee keseph*[7] (LXX. *ἀργύριον*), and אֲגוֹרַת כֶּסֶף, *Agorat keseph*[8] (LXX. *ὄβολος*), rendered in our version by 'piece of silver,' may be considered merely as expressive of any small denomination of money, and the former in no way implies a *coin*. The word כֶּסֶף, *keseph*, which usually is translated *ἀργύριον*, though sometimes *χρυσοῦς*,[9] is also in some passages represented in the LXX. by *σίκλος*.[1]

A very remarkable passage is that in Ezekiel,[2] which is supposed to signify *brass money*.[3] The Vulgate renders

[5] Hussey, *Essay on ancient Weights and Money*, p. 194; Queipo, *Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques*, vol. i. p. 91 and p. 544, *note* 25.

[6] Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Money*. cf. "*pig* of lead."

[7] Ps. lxviii. 30.

[8] 1 Sam. ii. 36. The אֲגוֹרָה is probably the same as the גֵּרָה. The LXX. interpret both by ὄβολος, and the Vulg. interprets the former by *nummus*, and the latter by *obelus*. The Targum has upon this passage of Samuel the explanation לְמָעָא דִכְסַף, *pro obolo argenteo*. The Chaldee word מעא or מעה has been explained by Waser (*De Num. Hebr.* l. ii. c. 19) as 'a small coin equal to four issarim.' (*Rev. Num.* 1858, p. 364.). See note on the *obolus*, under Roman money, at the end of volume.

[9] Gen. xxxvii. 28; xlv. 22. Vossius (*De LXX. Interpret.* p. 39) defends this translation, but it does not seem clear why it was adopted. Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 3, 3) says that Joseph was sold by his brethren for twenty *minæ*. This does not make the first passage more intelligible.

[1] In Isaiah vii. 23, the word כֶּסֶף is rendered by *σίκλος* in the LXX. by *argenteus* in the Vulg. and by *silverling* in our version.

[2] Ezek. xvi. 36.

[3] Gesenius, *Lex.* s. v. נְחֹשֶׁת

the Hebrew reading יַעַן הִשָּׁפֵךְ נְחָשְׁתֵּךְ by 'quia effusum est *aes* tuum,' and the Authorised Version 'because thy filthiness was poured out.' Brass money at this period is very unlikely to occur, as it was the latest metal introduced for money into Greece. Nor indeed is coined money found in the time of Homer, but traffic was carried on either by simple barter,[4] or by means of masses of unwrought iron, like lumps of iron,[5] or by quantities of gold and silver, especially of gold,[6] which latter metal, mentioned in the expression *τάλαντον χρυσοῦ*, seems to have been the only one measured by weight.

[4] *Il.* vii. 472; xxiii. 702; *Odyss.* i. 430.

[5] *Il.* xxiii. 826; *Odyss.* i. 184.

[6] *Il.* ix. 122, 279; xix. 247; xxiii. 269; *Odyss.* i. 184; iv. 129; viii. 393; ix. 202, etc.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT PEOPLE FIRST COINED MONEY?—THE MATERIALS EMPLOYED FOR MONEY.

THE invention of coined money[1] is a question which has been often discussed. In the countries where we should have expected to have found the earliest coins, not a single coin has yet been discovered. Egyptian money, as stated in the previous chapter,[2] was probably composed of rings of gold and silver, and Egypt never had a coinage[3] till introduced when conquered by the Persians[4] and afterwards by the Greeks. In Assyria and Babylonia only clay tablets commemorating grants of money *specified by weight* have been found in considerable numbers, and in Phœnicia, a country most likely to have produced a coinage, no pieces

[1] The terms employed by the Greeks for 'money,' are ἀργύριον, χρήματα, and νόμισμα. It was called ἀργύριον from ἄργυρος silver, and this latter word was itself sometimes used to signify 'money' (Soph. *Antig.* 295). All words connected with 'money' were derived from ἄργυρος and not from χρυσὸς, as καταργυρόω 'to bribe with money,' ἀργυραμοιβοὶ 'money-changers,' etc. though there is one example of the employment of χρυσὸς in Æschylus, ὁ χρυσαμοίβος δ' Ἄρης σωμάτων (*Agam.* 436, see Hussey, *Weights and Measures*, chap. v. sect. 2; and Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. i. *Ap.*), but with allusion to weight (Καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορός ver 437). Χρήματα signifies all that is needful for the employments of life, especially property, money (Cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* B. v. 17.) Νόμισμα from νόμος, anything recognised by established law, hence *current coin.* (Cf. Demosth. *contra Timocrat.* ed. Didot, p. 367; Aristoph. *Nub.* 247.) For the terms employed by the Romans, see below under *Roman money.*

[2] See p. 3 and woodcut.

[3] Sir G. Wilkinson says that the papyri state that the Egyptians had unstamped copper money called 'pieces of brass,' which, like the gold and silver, was taken by weight even in the time of the Ptolemies. (*Pop. Acct. of Anc. Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 150.)

[4] Herod. iv. 166.

of an antiquity earlier than the Persian rule have hitherto come to light.[5]

Before the introduction of coined money into Greece by Pheidon, king of Argos, there was a currency of *ὀβελίσκοι*, 'spits' or 'skewers,' six of which were considered a handful (*δραχμή*). Col. Leake[6] thought that they were pyramidal pieces of *silver*, but it seems more probable that they were nails of *iron* or *copper*, capable of being used as spits in the Homeric fashion. This is likely from the fact that six of them made a handful, and that they were therefore of considerable size.[7]

There are two accounts relative to the invention of coined money, one that it was first struck in Ægina, the other that it was due to the Lydians. The former opinion has been maintained by a distinguished numismatist recently deceased.[8] The principal authority appealed to, is that of the Parian marble. This states *Ἀφ' οὗ Φ . . δων ὁ Ἀργεῖος . . . . ἀνεσκεύασε καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν, ἐνδέκατος ὢν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους.*[9] But this chronicle only declares that Pheidon stamped silver coins, not that he was the first who did so, and that he struck them in Ægina, but it is not said that this was not also done elsewhere or at an earlier date, nor does it determine that the Æginetans had not coined money before Pheidon.[1] Ephorus expressly states that Pheidon employed

[5] Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. i. *App.* pp. 684, 685.

[6] *Num. Chron.* vol. xvii. p. 203; *Num. Hell. App.* p. 1.

[7] Rawlinson, *Herod.* vol. i. *App.* p. 688.

[8] Leake, *Numismata Hellenica, Appendix; Numismatic Chronicle,* vol. xvii. p. 202 *seq.*

[9] *Frag. Hist. Græc.* vol. i. ed. Didot, p. 546.

[1] The date of Pheidon according to the marble is B.C. 895, but Böckh, Clinton, and Müller place him between B.C. 783 and B.C. 744, and Grote between B.C. 770 and B.C. 730 (Grote, *Hist. of Greece,* vol. iv. p. 419). Herodotus says that Pheidon only regulated the weights and measures among the Peloponnesians (vi. 127).

the Æginetans to strike money for him,[2] and the inference is that the people of Argos were at this time ignorant of the method of stamping money, and that the Æginetans had made some progress in the art.[3] This supposition has been shown to be highly probable by Mr. Borrell, who attributes a coin on which are two dolphins, and on the reverse an incuse square, to Pheidon king of Argos, while the known Æginetan coins, marked with a turtle or a tortoise, are from their workmanship of an earlier date. The weight, and the general form and fabric of the coins seem also to favour this conclusion. The reason of the adoption of this device of two dolphins for coins of Pheidon is unknown, but Mr. Borrell has ingeniously, but not conclusively, conjectured that "it would neither suit the Æginetæ to impress the coins they fabricated for Pheidon with the private mark or symbol of their own people, nor for Pheidon to have permitted it."[4]

The other account is derived from the authority of Herodotus, who says, "they (the Lydians) were the first nation to introduce the use of gold and silver coin,"[5] a statement confirmed by Xenophanes of Colophon.[6] History certainly is in favour of a Lydian origin, which has been successfully argued, in a short essay on the respective claims of the Lydians and Greeks,[7] but in order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, it is necessary to examine the coins of these respective countries that have been preserved to us.

"The earliest *electrum* coins have the appearance of

[2] Ἔφορος δ' ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἄργυρον πρῶτον κοπῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ Φείδωνος. Ephorus ap. Strabo, lib. viii. cap. vi. ed. Didot, p. 323.

[3] Καὶ πρῶτοι (Αἰγινῆται) νόμισμα ἐκόψαντο, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλήθη νόμισμα Αἰγιναῖον. Ælian. *Var. Hist.* xii. 10.

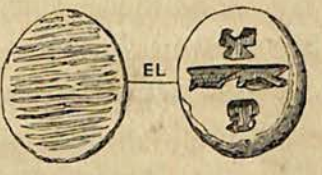
[4] *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vi. p. 42 *seq.*

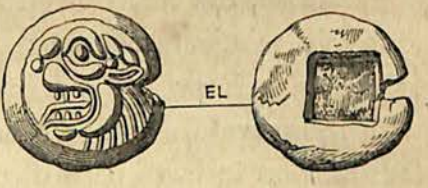
[5] Herod. I. 94.

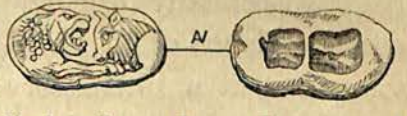
[6] Pollux, ix, 83.

[7] Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. i. *App.* p. 683 *seq.*

greater antiquity than any in the whole Greek series, which will satisfactorily explain the remark of Herodotus concerning the Lydians having first struck money, and it seems more probable that the invention was of Asiatic origin, as the part of Asia to which this *electrum* class belongs was at this early period subject to the Lydian Kings. The oldest pieces are staters and smaller coins, with rude and seemingly unmeaning incuse stamps on the obverse, and on the reverse a mere mark of the rough surface of the anvil. These are followed by coins with a rude design on the obverse, and irregular incuse stamps in a square on the reverse."[8] After a time there are coins of Lydia with Lydian types. On the obverse the heads of a lion and a bull facing each other are represented, and on the reverse a rude incuse square (*quadratum incusum*). The coins with the type of the lion and bull, both of which seem to have been Lydian emblems,[9] have been attributed by Mr. Borrell to Croesus, king of Lydia, and have been thought to have been struck at Sardis, which is somewhat corroborated by the fact that all that have been discovered have been found within a radius of thirty miles from that capital.[1] These coins are of gold and silver. The gold have nearly the same weight as the gold Darics, 124 to 126 grains, and the principal silver ones have the same weight as the so-called silver Darics (*sigli*), viz. 80 to 83 grains. There is, however, a silver Lydian coin given by Borrell,







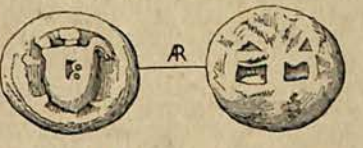
[8] R. S. Poole, art. *Numismatics, Encycl. Brit.* 8th ed. p. 376.

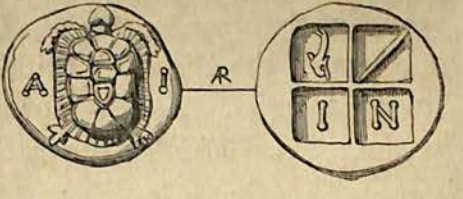
[9] Herod. i. 50, 84.

[1] *Num. Chron.* vol. ii. p. 216 *seq.*

weighing 161 grains, and one in the British Museum weighs 163 grains. These last two are doubtless pieces of two *sigli*.[2]

The coins of Ægina do not appear so rude as those of Lydia. They are, however, of extreme antiquity; on the obverse is a turtle or a tortoise, and on the reverse a rude incuse stamp. Gradually the rude stamp gives place to an indented square divided into four compartments by raised lines, one quarter being again divided by a diagonal line, so as to form five compartments;[3] and shortly after the letters AIΓ or AIΓI for AIΓINHTΩN are introduced into the upper part of the square, and a figure of a dolphin generally into one of the lower parts. On the specimen here engraved the AI is on the obverse, and the IN[ΓIN ?] on the reverse. It may then be fairly assumed, as has already been remarked by a gentleman, who has paid much attention to 'Bullion and Medal currency,' that the first idea of *impress* and the invention of an actual coin may be assigned to Lydia, while the perfecting the coin by adding a *reverse design*, thereby completing the art of coinage, may be given to the Æginetans.[4] These coins are struck according to the weight of the talent of Ægina, of which the drachm at the time of the earliest pieces weighed 96 grains.





We shall not then be wrong in supposing that Greek

[2] See chapter on "Weights."

[3] There are usually only five compartments on the Æginetan reverses, but in the sale catalogue of the coins of Henry Pershouse, Esq. lot 58, a reverse of *eight* divisions is mentioned (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 127, *note*).

[4] W. B. Dickinson, *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 128.

coinage may be carried up to the 8th century B.C., though purely Asiatic coinage cannot be taken up to so early a date. The use of coined money in Palestine cannot have existed till after the taking of Samaria by the Assyrians (in B.C. 721.)

The three metals employed by the Greeks and Romans for the fabrication of their coinage were, as at the present day, gold, silver, and copper. Other metals and materials were however sometimes used: *Iron* is mentioned as having been used by the Lacedæmonians and Byzantines.[5] Aristotle says that the people of Clazomenæ had *iron* money.[6] Several other authorities have been collected with reference to iron money, but no specimens have come down to the present day, probably owing to the metal so easily perishing.[7] *Tin* is said to have been struck by Dionysius I. tyrant of Syracuse,[8] and there is a notice of false *tin* coins in a law of the Digest.[9] British and Roman *tin* coins are known to exist. *Leaden* money is frequently mentioned by the poets. Whether the *leaden* money was true money is doubtful;[1] but a leaden pattern of a stater of Philip II. king of Macedonia is in the British Museum. *Leather* money is said to have been used by the Carthaginians, Spartans, and Romans, and *wood* and *shells* are also quoted as materials for money. In modern times *leather* money was more prevalent.

Under William I. king of Sicily (1154—1166), the Sicilians were compelled to bring gold and silver to Palermo and other towns, and received in exchange a kind of *leather money* bearing the monogram of the king.[2] The earliest specimen that I have seen is that struck by the

[5] Pollux, vii. 156. [6] *Oeconom.* ii. 2, 16.
[7] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. *Proleg.* vi.
[8] Aristot. *Oeconom.* ii. 2, 20; Pollux, ix. 79. [9] xlviii. *Tit.* 19.
[1] Eckhel, *l. c.* [2] *Revue Numismatique*, 1842, p. 52.

town of Leyden when besieged by the Spaniards in 1574; and the British Museum has recently acquired an example of a *sequin* in *leather* of Francesco Cornaro (1656). It is of great rarity. At the present day countries little advanced in civilization use ornamental articles, as shells, glass beads, &c. In 1851 more than 1000 tons of cowries were brought from the East Indies to Liverpool, to be exported thence to the West coasts of Africa and exchanged for palm oil. In the British West-Indian islands, pins, a slice of bread, a pinch of snuff, a dram of whisky, and in the central parts of South America, soap, chocolate, cocoanuts, eggs, &c. serve the same purpose.[3]

[3] J. Yates. "*Descriptive Cat. of a collection of current Coins of all countries, exhibited in the Exhibition of* 1862."

CHAPTER III.

THE MONEY EMPLOYED BY THE JEWS AFTER THEIR RETURN FROM BABYLON UNTIL THE REVOLT UNDER THE MACCABEES.

In the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia (B.C. 536), an edict was issued throughout his whole kingdom;—"Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people, his God be with him and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the God), which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the free-will offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem."[1] This decree was immediately responded to, and 42,360 persons set forth for Jerusalem under the leadership of Zerubbabel and the high-priest Jeshua, carrying with them the vessels of the old Temple, which had been preserved at Babylon. Shortly after the return, an altar was erected upon the ruins of the Temple, and the customary sacrifices were offered, and in the second year (B.C. 535) the foundation of the Temple was laid. Amidst frequent interruptions from the Samaritans, the people, aided by the encouragements and rebukes of Zechariah and Haggai, and by numerous contributions, at last completed the Temple in the sixth year of Darius the son of Hystaspes (B.C. 516), who ordered

[1] Ezra i. 2—4.

that the expenses of the work should be defrayed out of the public revenue.[2] The contributions are especially mentioned:—"and some of the fathers, when they came to the house of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem, offered freely for the house of God, to set it up in its place. They gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work threescore and one thousand drams of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים *Darkemonim;* LXX. *χρυσίον καθαρὸν μναῖ*; Cod. Alex. *χρυσίου δραχμάς*; Vulg. *solidos*), and five thousand pound of silver, and one hundred priests' garments."[3] About fifty-eight years later (B. C. 458) Ezra led home a second colony of Jews from Babylon, and thirteen years after (B. C. 445) Nehemiah, the cupbearer of Artaxerxes Longimanus, obtained his leave to go up to Jerusalem to build the walls of the city. Soon after the arrival of Ezra, he had committed the care of the treasures to the priests; "and I (Ezra) weighed unto them the silver and the gold and the vessels, even the offering of the house of our God, which the king and his counsellors, and his lords, and all Israel there present had offered; I even weighed unto their hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and silver vessels an hundred talents, and of gold an hundred talents; also twenty basons of gold, of a [*i. e.* to the value of a] thousand drams (אַדַרְכֹנִים *Adarkonim;* LXX. *χρυσοῖ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν χίλιοι*; Cod. Alex. *εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν δραχμῶν χίλιοι*; Vulg. *solidos*), and two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold."[4] Nehemiah also informs us that "some of the chief of the

[2] Ezra vi. 8, 15, 16, 19. [3] Ezra ii. 68, 69.

[4] Ezra viii. 25—27. Καὶ *σκεύη χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος ἀγαθοῦ διάφορα ἐπιθυμητὰ ἐν χρυσίῳ* (ver. 27). These vessels may have been like those of 'bright brass' in 1 Kings vii. 45; Dan. x. 6. Perhaps they were composed of *orichalcum*. Josephus speaks of "copper more precious than gold," of which Solomon made the brazen vessels in the Temple (*Antiq.* vii. 5, 3; xi. 5, 2.), and Cicero reckons *orichalcum* a thousand times the worth of gold. (*Offic.* iii. 23.) A 'fine brass' (χαλκολίβανον)

fathers gave unto the work. The Tirshatha[5] gave to the treasure a thousand drams of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים (*Darkemonim;* LXX. *χρυσοῦς χιλίους*), fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' garments. And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasure of the work twenty thousand drams of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים, *Darkemonim;* LXX. *χρυσοῦ νομίσματος δύο μυριάδας*), and two thousand and two hundred pound of silver. And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand drams of gold (דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים *Darkemonim;* LXX. *χρυσίου δύο μυριάδας*), and two thousand pound of silver, and threescore and seven priests' garments."[6]

Though there are several opinions concerning the derivation of 'Adarkonim' and 'Darkemonim,' it is in any case agreed that by these words the Persian 'Daric' is intended. That the Hebrew word is the name of a coin and not of a weight is evident from its similarity to the Greek word 'Daric' (*Δαρεικός*). The origin of this coin has been sought in the name of Darius, either Darius the Mede, or Darius son of Hystaspes. Salmasius connects it with the Arabic *dirhem*, and Gesenius[7] suggests the Persian word *Dara*, 'King.' This seems the most likely, as the

is mentioned in Rev. i. 15 and ii. 18. Some suppose it to be *ὀρείχαλκος*, others to be *χαλκὸς λιπαρός*, others 'deep-coloured frankincense.' (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible, s. vv. Brass* and *Copper.*)

[5] תִּרְשָׁתָא (always written with the article הַתִּרְשָׁתָא) LXX., *ἀθερσαθά*, Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, 70; viii. 9; *ἀρταρσασθά*, x. 1; *Marg.* A. V. *governor.* A title of the Persian governor of Judæa, perhaps derived from the Persian ترش *torsh*, 'severe, austere;' comp. *Gestrenger Herr*, 'His severity,' a title formerly given in Germany to the consuls of free and Imperial cities. (Gesenius, *Lex.* ed. Tregelles, s. v. תִּרְשָׁתָא).

[6] Nehemiah vii. 70-72. At the time of David the people gave for the service of the house of God 'five thousand talents and ten thousand drams,' etc. (אַדַּרְכֹנִים *Adarkonim;* LXX. *χρυσοῦς;* Vulg. *solidos.*) 1 Chron. xxix. 7.

[7] *Handw.* s. v.

figure represented on the Daric is not any particular king, but 'the King of Persia' in an abstract sense. Dr. Levy does not seem satisfied with the result of these various opinions, and has thrown out a suggestion which may be considered ingenious, but which cannot, I think, be adopted. "The root-word (he says) is evidently דָּרַךְ; but this signifies 'to stride,' 'tread,' 'step forward,' by reason of the forward placing of one foot, which a man does in bending the bow; דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁת 'to bend the bow;' (see the striking observation of Köster in explanation of the Hebrew expression דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁת for 'to bend the bow,' in Ewald's "*Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft*," Göttingen, 1861, p. 13, sq.) According to Köster the construction דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁת is a 'paratactic,' by which is set forth a significant accessory motion, instead of the verb proper—'to tread a bow,' instead of 'to bend the bow with the forward step of the foot.' Similar is מָשַׁךְ זֶרַע for 'drawing forth the seed,' to scatter it abroad with a drawing motion of the hand, 'with a regular drawing.' (Amos ix. 13.) We think then that from דָּרַךְ "to bend the bow" was formed a noun דרכון, or, with the Aleph prefixed, אדרכון 'archer.' Thus by reason of the 'archer' that was struck upon them the coins have received the name, for in fact the ancients called the old Persian gold coins τοξόται, *Sagittarii*. Also that, in this case a more expanded form דרכמון may have formed itself from the simple דרכון is very possible, for the *mem* is easily inserted."[8]

The Persian daric was a thick piece of gold of archaic style, as the following woodcut shows:—

Obv. Figure of a king with bow and javelin, (or bow and dagger) kneeling. *Rev.* An irregular incuse square.

[8] *Jüd. Münzen*, pp. 19, 20, *note*.

The full weight of these coins is 129 grs. troy, and the ordinary Darics are common. Levy, however, gives a copy of a *double* piece, of which, he says, only *three* are known, thus calling the usually received Daric, a *half* Daric. There is, however, no specimen of this larger Daric in the British Museum, and from the extreme ease with which these pieces could be forged, we must decline to believe in their existence till we have actually *seen* and tested them.[9]

Besides these gold Darics, there was a silver coin circulating in Persia, called by the Greeks 'The Siglos.' Mention also is probably made of this piece in the Old Testament. "But the former governors that had been before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, beside forty shekels of silver (LXX. *ἀργύριον δίδραχμα τεσσαράκοντα*)."[1] Of these silver pieces, twenty went to one gold Daric,[2] which would give a ratio of gold to silver, 1 to 13.[3] They were, like the gold coins, impressed with the figure of an archer.

After the death of Nehemiah, the administration of Jewish affairs was left in a great measure to the priests. This circumstance was far from keeping up the sacred office, the temporal power vested in them stirring up many aspirants, whose object was solely that of temporal aggrandisement, and who were entirely wanting in the

[9] See chapter on 'Weights,' and the note on the 'Daric.'

[1] Nehemiah v. 15.

[2] Mommsen, *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*, pp. 13 and 855; Queipo, *Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques*, vol. i. p. 100. The 'siglos' is described by Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5, 6) as equal to 7½ Attic oboli, *ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἕπτα ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιβόλιον*. The obolus of full weight was 11·25 grs. (Leake, *Num. Hell., Europe*, p. 21); 11·25 × 7·5 = 85·375, and 84 is about the weight of the silver Darics. It will thus be seen that the *σίγλος* has no connection with the *σίκλος* (weighing 220 grains), excepting in name. The silver Darics mentioned by Plutarch (*Cim.* 10) are probably 'sigli.' (See chapter on 'Weights.')

[3] Herod. iii. 95.

higher qualifications necessary for the office. The negligence and wickedness of the priests are complained of by Malachi, and a heavy threatening denounced against them.[4] In the reign of Darius II., first named Ochus and then Nothus, who had assumed the throne on the death of Sogdianus (one of the illegitimate sons of Artaxerxes), the Egyptians expelled the Persians from Egypt, and chose a king of their own, Amyrtæus (B.C. 414). To bring them again into subjection the Persians marched through Judæa: and though the Jews remained faithful to the Persian sway, it is impossible to suppose that they were not in some measure sufferers from this intrusion. Artaxerxes II. Mnemon, the son and successor of Darius Nothus, made vigorous efforts to restore the Persian power in Egypt, and the invading army on its way towards Egypt took its course along the coasts of Palestine, which caused considerable disquiet to the Jews. With perhaps this exception they enjoyed peace during the reign of this king. At the time of this invasion (*circ.* B.C. 373) John was High-Priest at Jerusalem. He had, however, a rival in his brother Jesus, whose claims were favoured by the Persian governor Bagoses, who promised to procure for him the nomination to the priesthood. But before he could assume this office, he was slain by his brother. The insult was avenged by Bagoses, who harassed the Jews for seven years.[5]

In the year B.C. 336, Alexander, son of Philip of Macedon, ascended the throne. In the same year Darius III. ascended the throne of Persia in the place of Arses (son of Artaxerxes III. Ochus), who had been murdered by Bagoas. These two kings, Alexander and Darius, were destined to be rivals, and the result of their wars effected the overthrow of one of the great Eastern kingdoms. The battle of Issus in B.C. 333 decided the fate of the Persian

[4] Malachi i. and ii.

[5] Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 7, 1.

Empire; but Alexander, not waiting to pursue Darius, advanced into Phœnicia. With the exception of Tyre, all the cities tendered their submission. Angry with the obstinate defence which this city made, Alexander laid siege to it, and took it in B.C. 332. After his success here he advanced towards Jerusalem, the High-Priest of which city had refused to violate his oath of fealty to Darius in favour of the king of Macedon. At Sapha he was met by a solemn procession, headed by Jaddua the High-Priest, in whom he recognised the likeness of a person who had appeared to him in a dream, and believing that the incident was due to Divine interposition, he is said to have saluted him with reverence and afterwards to have sacrificed in the Temple. Whether this story is truthful or not, is open to doubt. It is certain, however, that Alexander, by some means or other, was led to abandon his intention of chastising the Jews, that the Jews were allowed the enjoyment of many considerable privileges during his reign,[6] and had much cause for regret when he died (B.C. 324).

At this period the coinage was a very rich one. It consisted of gold, silver, and copper.[7] The usual gold coin was the *stater*, called by Pollux Ἀλεξάνδρειος, and the silver coins were tetradrachms and drachms. These coins were struck after the Attic standard, introduced by Alexander the Great, instead of the Phœnician and Æginetan standards, which were largely used in Macedonia and Greece, except Athens and Corinth. Of the tetradrachms of this period struck in Palestine two specimens are

[6] He permitted the Jews to hold Samaria free from tribute (Joseph. *contra Apion.* ii. 4), a privilege offered at a later time to Jonathan by Demetrius I. [See our *Introduction.*]

[7] For an account of the coinage of Alexander the Great, see *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*, 8vo., with plates and tables 4to., by L. Müller. Copenhagen, 1855.

extant in the Paris and Gotha Museums, struck at Scythopolis and Sycamina. Scythopolis in Samaria was a town of considerable importance, at which three roads met, the first northward from Damascus, the second eastward from Bostra in Arabia, and the third westward from Jerusalem; and a fourth route placed it in communication with the towns of Ace,[8] Sycamina, and Stratonis Turris (Cæsarea Palæstinæ). From this it may be inferred that Scythopolis had a considerable commerce with these maritime cities. At a later period (A.D. 64) the number of Jews in Scythopolis was very considerable, and 13,000 are stated to have been murdered by the inhabitants.[9] Sycamina (*Hepha* or *Haifa*) was situated between Acre and Cæsarea Palæstinæ. Of Joppa there are tetradrachms of Alexander in the collections of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and Copenhagen, bearing the initials **I O Π**, and it no doubt supplied Jerusalem with money, being a town of importance and the seaport of that city. A considerable number of coins seem to have been struck also at Ace.

After the death of Alexander the Great, his large possessions were divided among his generals. The scope of this work renders it impossible to describe the dissensions amongst them. Until the Jews fell into the hands of Ptolemy I. Soter they had much cause of complaint in consequence of their country lying between the two great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, and liable to be harassed by invaders. Under the first Seleucidæ the same system of coinage as under Alexander the Great, seems to have been adopted. There are coins of Seleucus I. Nicator, with the initials **ΔI**, supposed to have been struck at Diospolis (Lydda).

[8] *Accho*, now called *St. Jean d'Acre*. It was named *Ptolemais* after one of the Ptolomies, probably Soter.

[9] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18, 3.

This city was situated at no great distance from Joppa, on the grand road leading from this town to Jerusalem, and was probably a place of great commercial importance. The recovery of Babylon by Seleucus I. Nicator, took place in B. C. 312, and it is from this date that the Seleucidan era was reckoned. It seems very probable that the coins of Tyre and Sidon, with names of the Seleucidæ, and bearing the dates of the Seleucidan era were in circulation in Palestine at this period. So also under the Lagidæ we find money of the Egyptian kings retained on the old Macedonian or Phœnician standard. Ptolemy I. struck coins towards the end of his reign at Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais? (if indeed Ptolemais was founded by him) and Paphos;[1] and it was not till the Jews finally gained their independence that any national Jewish coinage was struck and adopted. It will be necessary to give a short epitome of the events which led to their independence.

About B. C. 320 Ptolemy I. Soter made an attack upon Jerusalem, and obtained the city by stratagem, having entered it on the Sabbath day, as if to offer sacrifice. Palestine was wrested from Ptolemy for a short time by Antigonus, king of Asia, with whom the former was continually at war, till in the year B. C. 301 Antigonus was completely defeated at the decisive battle of Ipsus. Under the first two Ptolemies Palestine was in a tolerably pros-

[1] For the coins of the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies see Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 210 *seq.*; vol. iv. p. 1 *seq.*

perous condition, especially under Philadelphus, who treated the Jewish colonists settled in Alexandria with great toleration, and placed them in many respects on a level with his Greek subjects.[2] A new rival now appeared. Antiochus III. the Great, king of Syria, on his return from the East, commenced war on Ptolemy IV. Philopator, but, though at first successful, he was defeated in a great battle at Raphia, near Gaza, in B. C. 217. It was after this successful campaign that Ptolemy visited Jerusalem, and against the advice of the High-Priest is said to have advanced towards the inner sanctuary of the Temple, with the intention of entering it, but, either through some superstitious dread, or from some supernatural visitation, he was overcome with fright, and before he could perpetrate his unlawful purpose was carried out in a nearly senseless state. In revenge for this he instituted the most cruel persecutions on the Jews in Egypt, depriving those in Alexandria of the civil privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, but who were afterwards reinstated in their former privileges. The whole story, however, is not free from suspicion. When Ptolemy IV. Philopator died in B.C. 205, leaving a son, a child of five years of age, Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, Antiochus III. the Great, took advantage of this state of affairs, and entered into an arrangement with Philip V. king of Macedonia to divide the dominions of Ptolemy. Philip, however, was shortly after engaged in war with the Romans, but Antiochus obtained complete possession of Palestine and Cœle-Syria by his victory over the Egyptian general Scopas, at Paneas, B.C. 198, in consequence of which Jerusalem and the citadel, through the aid of the inhabitants, who drove out the Egyptian garrison, fell into the hands of Antiochus, and at the peace

[2] This privilege had also been granted to the Jews by Ptolemy I. Soter (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 1), and by Seleucus I. Nicator earlier (*Antiq.* xii. 3, 1).

which was then concluded, Antiochus gave his daughter Cleopatra in betrothal to Ptolemy, giving her the conquered province as a dowry. To requite the services of the Jews Antiochus remitted the taxes for a short time,[3] which was also the case under Seleucus IV. Philopator, who succeeded his father in B.C. 187. In B.C. 176, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes[4] succeeded Seleucus, instead of the latter's son Demetrius. His first act was to sell the office of High-Priest to the brother of the pious High-Priest Onias III. Jesus, or as he was called by his Greek name Jason. He offered to the king 440 talents of yearly tribute, if he would invest him with the High-Priesthood, and 150 more "if he might have a licence to set him up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth in the fashion of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians."[5] This offer was immediately accepted by Antiochus, and Jason set about Græcising the Jews. An attempt was made again to cause the Jews to 'become uncircumcised'; the service of the temple was neglected, and the very priests were partakers of the iniquities of their

[3] He also allowed them to live according to the laws of their country, and issued a decree that no one should come within the limits of the Temple, excepting by permission (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3, 4).

[4] Epiphanes signifies 'illustrious.' Appian gives a curious reason for the adoption of this name. On the murder of his brother Seleucus by Heliodorus, who seized the kingdom, Antiochus, who was on his way to Rome, was assisted by Eumenes II. and Attalus II. kings of Pergamus, to obtain back the throne of Syria. Heliodorus was killed and Antiochus mounted the throne the same year. Ἐπώνυμον ἦν Ἐπιφανὴς, ὅτι, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁρπαζομένης ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίων, βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖος ὤφθη, (*De Reb. Syr.* 45). There is evidently a connection here meant between the aorist passive ὀφθῆναι and φαίνομαι (Ἐπιφανὴς). They both have the same signification, *to let oneself be seen, appear*, especially in aorist. (See Liddell and Scott, s. v. ὁράω.) He was also called Epimanes (madman) in parody of Epiphanes, on account of his wicked deeds. Καλεῖ αὐτὸν Ἐπιμανῆ, καὶ οὐκ Ἐπιφανῆ, διὰ τὰς πράξεις. (Polyb. *Reliq.* xxvi. 10G, Athenæus, v. 4; x. 10.)

[5] 2 Maccab. iv. 9.

chief. Jason also sent his Jerusalemites, the newly elected Antiochians, as special messengers to the sports celebrated in Tyre in honour of Hercules, bidding them carry *three hundred drachms* of silver[6] to the sacrifice of Hercules, which, though sent with that object by the High-Priest Jason, was employed by the bearers in making gallies. In B.C. 172 Antiochus visited Jerusalem, and a great festival was given by Jason in his honour. The prosperity of Jason was not, however, of long standing. A yet more cunning kinsman removed him from his office in the same way as he had removed his brother Onias. A younger brother of Onias and Jason (or, as some say, brother of Simon the overseer of the Temple), by name Onias, which he changed for Menelaus, being sent by Jason to the king, knew how, through flattery and by bidding more than Jason by three hundred talents of silver, to obtain for himself the office, and Jason was compelled to fly. To obtain the money which he had promised to the king was a matter of some difficulty; and all other sources failing, Menelaus caused his brother Lysimachus to obtain possession of some of the sacred treasures in the Temple. This act of sacrilege was not kept from the knowledge of Onias, whose indignation at the act so roused the people that Menelaus grew apprehensive of his safety, and compassed the death of the ex-High-Priest. This only served the more to heighten the indignation of the Jews, who demanded justice of Antiochus for the atrocious act which had been perpetrated. Justice was promised, but for sometime Menelaus continued to avoid paying the penalty for his crime. On Lysimachus, however, his partner in guilt, the fury of the Jews was spent, who, outraged again and again by his continual exactions, slew him in the Temple, whither he had fled for protection. When the Jews sent deputies to Antiochus to justify their

[6] See Chapter XI. under *drachm.*

act, and had almost succeeded in satisfying him, Menelaus, through the agency of Ptolemy Macron, the king's favourite, was enabled to invalidate their cause, to secure their execution, and finally to get himself reinstalled in his office at Jerusalem.

In B. C. 170 a second war broke out between Ptolemy VI. of Egypt and Antiochus, in which the latter was successful. About this time Jason, the deposed High-Priest, encouraged by the false rumour of the death of Antiochus, advanced against Jerusalem, caused the expulsion of his brother Menelaus and resumed his former dignity. The approach of Antiochus, however, with a large army, forced him to flee, and he afterwards perished miserably in Sparta. The wicked Menelaus contrived to persuade Antiochus that the invasion of Jason was made on a secret understanding with the Jews, and that they had made great rejoicings, when the rumour of his death reached the city. Upon this Antiochus took Jerusalem by assault, slaughtered great numbers, and plundered the Temple of 1800 talents. This was only the first step to greater deeds of violence. Two years later Antiochus sent Apollonius to Jerusalem, in the guise of peace; he entered the city, and attacking the people on the Sabbath day, slaughtered numbers of the Jews. Mount Zion was then fortified, and those of the inhabitants of Jerusalem who were still true to their religion, fled to the mountains. An edict was now passed by Antiochus, enjoining the inhabitants of the whole empire to profess but one religion. Many of the Jews, fearful of the penalty which disobedience to the edict would entail upon them, apostatised; the majority, however, refused to purchase any indemnity by forsaking their faith. The Temple of Jerusalem was dedicated to Jupiter Olympius,[7] the rite of

[7] The temple on Mount Gerizim was dedicated to Jupiter, the defender of strangers (LXX. Ζεὺς Ξενίος; Vulg. *Jupiter hospitalis,*

circumcision was abolished, and the copies of the Law burnt.

When this persecution had continued some months, a champion was found for the dishonoured religion and the afflicted people, in Mattathias, a priest of the family of Joarib. His five sons, Joannan, called Caddis, Simon, called Thassi, Judas, called Maccabæus,[8] Eleazar, called Auran, and Jonathan, whose surname was Apphus,[9] were also true to their religion. When Apelles, the officer appointed to

2 Maccab. vi. 2). Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 5, 5), however, says that the Samaritans requested permission of Antiochus to dedicate their temple, *hitherto without a name*, to *Jupiter Hellenius*. The ἀνώνυμον ἱερὸν of Josephus furnishes a singular agreement with the words of Our Lord, 'Ye worship ye know not what' (John iv. 22). A coin of Antoninus Pius, struck at Neapolis Syriæ, probably represents this temple (Akerman, *Num. Ill. of N. T.* p. 29).

[8] The surname of Maccabæus is supposed by some to have been adopted from the device upon his standard, which is said to have been composed of the six letters M, CH, B, A, I, the initial letters of a verse of Exodus (xv. 11).

מי־כמכה באלם יהוה

"Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? (*marg.* 'mighty ones.')"

It seems, however, more probable to suppose that the name was derived from the Hebrew מקבה 'a hammer,' and adopted on account of his glorious victories, as in a similar manner in later times the name of *Martel* was given to Charles for his brilliant victories over the Arabs (733—737).—This family is usually called the '*Maccabees*,' but "*Asmonæans*" or "*Hasmonæans*" is the proper name of the family. The derivation of this latter name has been disputed, but the derivation from Chashmon (חַשְׁמָן, Ἀσαμωναῖος, cf. Gesen. *Thes.* 534 *b*.) great-grandfather of Mattathias, seems the most correct. (Rev. B. F. Westcott, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Maccabees*.) Herzfeld (*Geschich. d. Jud. I.*) derives the name from חסם 'to temper steel,' so that, as Mr. Westcott remarks (*l. c.*), it becomes a synonym of 'Maccabee.'

[9] Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 6, 1) gives the names of the five sons as 'Caddis, Matthes, Maccabæus, Auran, and Apphus.'

persuade Mattathias to sacrifice on an idolatrous altar, came to Modin, where he and his sons were living, and attempted so to do, Mattathias indignantly refused, and struck down a Jew who was making preparations for the required sacrifice. This was the commencement of the rebellion which followed. Mattathias and his sons fled to the mountains of Judæa, and the numbers of his followers rapidly increased. In due time these devotees, in their ardour to maintain that religion which had been prescribed to them, at a terrible risk emerged from their hiding places, and headed by Mattathias proceeded through several of the Jewish cities. The altars were destroyed, and the officers of Antiochus slain. For more than a year Mattathias led his victorious followers, when finding that his end was approaching, he called his sons together, and after having conjured them to continue valiant and to show themselves men in the behalf of the Law, he said, "Behold I know that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway; he shall be a father unto you. As for Judas Maccabæus, he hath been mighty and strong even from his youth up; let him be your captain and fight the battle of the people."[1] Mattathias then blessed his sons and died, in the hundred and forty-sixth year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 166), and was buried by his sons in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin.[2]

Judas immediately took the command, and pursuing the

[1] 1 Maccab. ii. 65 *seq.*

[2] The site of Modin has always been considered uncertain, but mediæval and modern tradition place it at *Soba*. Mr. Grove has suggested that it may be identified either with *Latrûn* or *Kubâb*. The former is fifteen miles from Jerusalem, and the latter two miles further. For this question and also that raised by the description of the tomb in 1 Maccab. (xiii. 27—30) and Josephus (*Antiq.* xiii. 6, 6), see Mr. Grove's art. *Modin*, in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*.

war, vanquished the large army of the Syrians under Apollonius, and another under Seron, at Bethhoron. Antiochus had entrusted the management of the war to his general Lysias, with orders "to root out the strength of Israel and the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from that place, and to place strangers in all their quarters and divide their land by lot."[3] But the forces of this general were completely defeated in two battles, the last time at Bethzur, and Judas, returning to Jerusalem, in B.C. 165, took it, and repaired the dishonoured and deserted Temple. He then waged war, in conjunction with his brothers Jonathan and Simon, against the Idumæans, Philistines and Ammonites, and transplanted from Galilee to Judæa those Jews who still had remained faithful. Antiochus, who had already been repulsed in Persia, heard of the defeat that his generals had suffered, and hastened back to attempt in person the capture of Judas and the insurgents. His threat, that he would make Jerusalem "a common burying-place[4] of the Jews," was

[3] 1 Maccab. iii. 35.

[4] Πολυάνδριον, 2 Maccab. ix. 4. This word was evidently used in an insulting sense. It is related by Ælian (*Var. Hist.* xii. 21) that the Spartan women used to examine the bodies of their sons after a battle, and if the wounds were in front they were buried in their paternal sepulchre (εἰς τὰς Πατρώας ἔφερον τάφους) but if the wounds were behind, showing that they must have been cowards, their bodies were cast into the common burying-place (καταλιποῦσι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν τῷ πολυανδρίῳ θάψαι). We find apparent mention of cemeteries for the people in the Old Testament (τάφον τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ λαοῦ, 2 Kings xxiii. 6; μνῆμα υἱῶν λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, Jerem. xxvi. 23). In Ezekiel also we read, "I will give unto Gog a place of graves (μνημεῖον) in Israel, the valley (גֵּי; πολυάνδριον, LXX.) of the passengers on the east of the sea, and there shall they bury Gog and all his multitude" (xxxix. 11; cf. ver. 15). In the sixteenth verse of the same chapter, the name of the place is given where the slaughter is to take place. "They shall call the name of the city Hamonah" (הֲמוֹנָה [multitude]; πολυάνδριον, LXX.). The word

not of much avail, for on the way he was stricken with a sore disease, and, before he could execute his purpose, died in the hundred and forty-ninth year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 162).[5]

His confidant Philip was appointed guardian to his son Antiochus V. Eupator, who was only nine years of age. Lysias and Philip now contended for the regency, and Demetrius I. Soter, the son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, who had hitherto lived at Rome, laid pretensions to the Syrian crown. In a battle that took place between the Jews and Syrians, the former of whom were defeated, Eleazar, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, met his death by bravely creeping under the largest elephant, upon which he thought the king might be, and stabbing him, was crushed by the animal falling upon him. Lysias now persuaded Antiochus to make peace with the Jews, and accordingly he sent to Judas promising them peace, and giving them permission to live according to the laws of their fathers. Antiochus upon entering Mount Sion immediately broke his word, and ordered the wall round about it to be pulled down. He also took away the High-Priest Menelaus, and returned to Antioch. By the persuasion of Lysias Menelaus was put to death, as the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done to the king, and Alcimus, who was also named Jacimus,[6] was made High-Priest. Antiochus

πολυάνδριον in these passages seems to indicate a cemetery or place for the common people to be buried in, and Antiochus evidently employed this word in its worst sense.

[5] The hatred of Tacitus for the Jews is shown in his remarks on Antiochus. 'Rex Antiochus, demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus *teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret*, Parthorum bello prohibitus est' (*Hist.* v. 8).

[6] Ἄλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος, Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 9, 7. These were the Greek forms of the Hebrew names Jachin, Jakim and Eliakim.

then made war against Philip, subdued him and killed him. Subsequently Lysias and his ward Antiochus Eupator fell into the hands of Demetrius, who had arrived from Rome, and they were immediately put to death. To this new king, Alcimus and the unfaithful Jews came, and complained of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren. Demetrius sent an army under Nicanor to support the traitor party and to capture Judas; but it was defeated by the valiant Maccabee. By a second army, under Bacchides, Judas was overthrown, after a valiant resistance, in the year B.C. 161. His body, which his brothers Jonathan and Simon had rescued, was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin.

Jonathan was immediately chosen as the leader of the national party, while Alcimus was reinstated as High-Priest. This latter did not live very long, being seized with an attack of paralysis, whilst pulling down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary. The Jews then had a short respite. In the hundred and sixtieth year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 153) Alexander Balas, who pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, set himself up as king in opposition to Demetrius. Both of these rivals had written letters to Jonathan, asking his assistance, but Alexander Balas conferred upon him the High-Priesthood, and sent him a purple mantle and crown of gold, calling him in the letter, 'brother and friend.'[7] Jonathan did not hesitate to accept the offers of Alexander and to reject those of Demetrius, who again made splendid promises which were not regarded by Jonathan as sincere.[8]

[7] 1 Maccab. x. 18—20.

[8] Demetrius offered to release the Jews from all tributes, crown taxes, etc. (see p. 22) in Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. Jerusalem was to be 'holy and free' (see below under Simon Maccabæus), and many other immunities were to be granted to them (1 Maccab. x. 25—45). Alexander

A battle soon after took place between Alexander and Demetrius, in which the latter was killed. The son of Demetrius, who was also called Demetrius (Nicator), took the field against the usurper. Alexander applied for assistance to Ptolemy VI. Philometer, who declared in favour of Demetrius. Alexander then attacked Ptolemy, who was killed in the battle, though the former was defeated. Alexander Balas was killed by an Arabian, with whom he had taken refuge. The new king Demetrius was obliged again to send for assistance to Jonathan, to quell an insurrection that had broken out at Antioch. But when he thought he was sufficiently firm on his throne, he wished to retract all the promises he had made, and threatened Jonathan with war if he did not immediately pay him the ordinary tributes. Jonathan now found an unexpected friend. Diodotus (or Tryphon), a general of the former king Alexander Balas, made an attempt to obtain the throne for Antiochus, the son of the same, and found in Jonathan, to whom he conceded the same privileges as Demetrius had done, a powerful ally. Demetrius was compelled to retire to Seleucia, from whence he made a warlike expedition against the Parthians, was defeated and he himself taken prisoner. Tryphon, now that his power was firmly established, found Jonathan an obstacle to his transferring the crown from Antiochus VI. to himself, as doubtless was always his intention. He determined in consequence to get rid of Jonathan. With this idea, he came to Bethsan with an army, and Jonathan came out to meet him with forty thousand men. Tryphon was afraid to lay hands upon him while he was at the head of so large a force, and by protestations of friendship invited him to

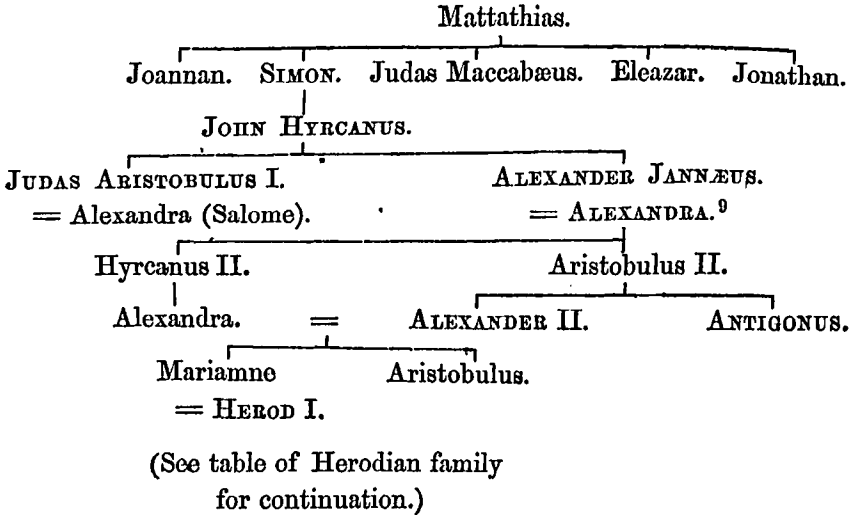
the Great had formerly granted the Jews the same privileges at Samaria. (Joseph. *contra Apion.* ii. 4; see p. 22.)

Ptolemais, under the pretext that he was going to entrust this city to his protection. Immediately on entering the city Jonathan was made prisoner and killed, and all those who had accompanied him (1000 men) were put to death. (B.C. 144.) At a subsequent period the bones of Jonathan were buried by Simon in the family sepulchre at Modin.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

SHOWING THOSE OF THE

MACCABÆAN FAMILY OF WHOM THERE ARE COINS.



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[9] See *note* further on, under ALEXANDRA, *sect.* E.

CHAPTER IV.

SIMON THE MACCABEE FIRST STRIKES COINS.

THE attempts of Tryphon to invade the land of Judæa were continually frustrated by Simon, who had been unanimously elected by the people as leader and high-priest. Favourable negociations were also entered into by Simon with Demetrius II. king of Syria, who sent him the following reply: "King Demetrius unto Simon the high-priest and friend of kings, as also unto the elders[1] and nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: the golden crown and the scarlet robe[2] which ye sent unto us we have received, and we are ready to make a steadfast peace with you, yea,

[1] Πρεσβύτεροι (cf. ἄρχοντες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, 1 Maccab. i. 26; vii. 33; xii. 35; xiv. 20; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 4, 9). The γερουσία, or Jewish senate, which was composed of πρεσβύτεροι or ἄρχοντες, is mentioned in 1 Maccab. xii. 6; 2 Maccab. i. 10; iv. 44; and xi. 27. Antiochus the Great in his decrees calls the senate γερουσία (Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 3, 3), and Josephus himself applies the same name to the *elders* at Alexandria (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 10, 1).

[2] Τὸν στέφανον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὴν βαΐνην (1 Maccab. xiii. 37). The στέφανος is the crown tax (see below, ver. 39; cf. 1 Maccab. x. 29; xi. 35; 2 Maccab. xiv. 4) given by the Jews every year to the king. The same word occurs in the same sense in Polybius (xxii. 17, 4). Josephus calls one of the taxes remitted by Antiochus the Great στεφανίτης φόρος (*Antiq.* xii. 3, 3). The βαΐς, translated in this passage of the Authorised Version 'scarlet robe' (though the word βαΐων occurs in 1 Maccab. xiii. 51, and is there rendered correctly 'branches of palm-trees') is in all probability an Egyptian word. Porphyry (*De Abstinentiâ*, iv. 7), speaking of the Egyptian priest, says, Κοίτη δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν σπαδίκων τοῦ φοίνικος, ἃς καλοῦσι βαΐς, ἐπέπλεκτο. The words τα βαΐα occur in John xii. 13. Φοῖνιξ is the usual word for 'palm-branch' (cf. 2 Maccab. x. 7; xiv. 4).

and to write unto our officers to confirm the immunities we have granted. And whatsoever covenant we have made with you shall stand; and the strongholds which ye have builded shall be your own. As for any oversight or fault committed unto us this day, we forgive it, and the crown tax also which ye owe us, and if there were any other tribute paid in Jerusalem, it shall be no more paid. And look who are meet among you to be in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace between us."[3] "Thus the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, in the hundred and seventieth year (B.C. 142)," and "the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, 'In the first year of Simon the high-priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.'"[4] Several cities of Judæa were also fortified by Simon, among them Beth-sura, Joppe, and Gazara, and after a three years' siege the citadel (*ἄκρα*) of Jerusalem was taken, the garrison being obliged to capitulate from famine. At last, on the twenty-third day of the second month in the hundred and seventy-first year of the Seleucidan era (B.C. 141), he "entered in

[3] 1 Maccab. xiii. 36—40.

[4] 1 Maccab. xiii. 36—42. Καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ λαὸς Ισραὴλ γράφειν ἐν ταῖς συνγραφεῖς, καὶ συναλλάγμασιν, Ἔτους πρώτου ἐπὶ Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἰουδαίων. Josephus says, 'In the first year of Simon the benefactor and ethnarch (ἐθναρχος) of the Jews' (*Antiq.* xiii. 6, 7). Simon is also called 'ethnarch' in 1 Maccab. xiv. 47, and xv. 1, 2. Hyrcanus II. was also high-priest and ethnarch (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 8, 5), and Augustus bestowed this title upon Archelaus after his father's death, a fact confirmed by his coins (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11, 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6. 3). This title was also used as the designation for the magistrate allowed to the Jews in Alexandria and other cities (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 5, 2), and according to Strabo (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7, 2), he appears to have been an independent ruler. It is employed by Lucian as a title inferior to that of king (Ἀσανδρος δὲ ὁ, ὑπὸ τοῦ θέου Σεβαστοῦ ἀντὶ ἐθνάρχου βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύθεις, *Macrob.* sect. 17; ed. Didot. p. 642). For the 'ethnarch of Aretas,' the Arabian king of Damascus (2 Cor. xi. 32), see Alford's note *in loc.*

with thanksgiving and branches of palm-trees, and with harps and cymbals and with viols and hymns and songs; because there was destroyed a great enemy out of Israel."[5] A favourable alliance was also concluded with the Romans by Simon, who sent Numenius to them with a great shield of gold of a thousand pounds weight. Palestine thus, during the government of Simon, attained a degree of prosperity that it had not known for a long time: "Then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and set in them all manner of munition, so that his honourable name was renowned unto the end of the world. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy, for every man sat under his vine and his fig-tree,[6] and there was none to fray them. Neither was there any left in the land to fight against them: yea, the kings themselves were overthrown in those days. Moreover, he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low; the law he searched out; and every contemner of the law and wicked person he took away. He beautified the sanctuary and multiplied the vessels of the temple," and all the people said, "What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons?"[7]

About the year B.C. 139, Antiochus VII. Sidetes, the son of Demetrius I., also sent letters to Simon the priest and prince of the Jews, granting to him still more favourable privileges. Not only were the former ones renewed, but a considerable addition was made, inasmuch as he accorded

[5] 1 Maccab. xiii. 49—51; xiv. 33, 34; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 6, 7.

[6] Cf. 1 Kings iv. 25; Micah iv. 4; Zechariah iii. 10.

[7] 1 Maccab. xiv. 8—15, 25.

to the Jews the right of coining money. "King Antiochus to Simon the High-Priest and prince of his nation, and to the people of the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as certain pestilent men have usurped the kingdom of our fathers and my purpose is to challenge it again, that I may restore it to the old estate, and to that end have gathered a multitude of foreign soldiers together, and prepared ships of war, my meaning also being to go through the country that I may be avenged of them that have destroyed it, and made many cities in the kingdom desolate; now therefore I confirm unto thee all the oblations which the kings before me granted thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they granted. I give thee leave also to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp (*καὶ ἐπέτρεψά σοι ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ σου*), and as concerning Jerusalem and the sanctuary, let them be free; and all the armour that thou hast made, and fortresses that thou hast built, and keepest in thine hands, let them remain unto thee. And if anything be, or shall be, owing to the king, let it be forgiven thee from this time forth for evermore. Furthermore, when we have obtained our kingdom, we will honour thee, and thy nation and thy temple, with great honour, so that your honour shall be known throughout the world."[8] This document was issued in the hundred and seventy-fourth year of the Seleucidan era, B.C. 139.[9] We have seen that earlier privileges were granted by De-

[8] 1 Maccab. xv. 2—9.

[9] It does not seem to have been noticed that Antiochus must have granted the privilege of coinage to the Jews before his brother Demetrius II. was taken prisoner by Mithridates I. king of Parthia, (Arsaces VI.; 1 Maccab. xiv. 1) in B.C. 138, and he obtained the throne in B.C. 137. The third year of Simon commenced before the eighteenth of the month Elul in the 172nd year (1 Maccab. xiv. 27). Elul was the sixth Jewish month, and would correspond to the eleventh month of the Macedonian year, which commenced in autumn. The month Elul would

metrius; it does not, however, follow that Simon made use of the privilege of coining before Antiochus actually conferred it upon him, though it is more than probable that he did so.

In the same year Antiochus besieged Dora, where Tryphon had taken refuge, and Simon sent to Antiochus two thousand men, and some large sums of money. Antiochus however forgot the kind assistance that Simon had afforded

then fall in the August and September B.C. 140, from which the commencement of Simon's government can be traced to the beginning of B.C. 142 or the close of B.C. 143 (Clinton, F. H. vol. iii. p. 329, *note, r*). This being the case, the fourth year of Simon's pontificate (173rd of the Seleucidan era) will end in (August) B.C. 139, and as Antiochus set out against Tryphon in the 174th year of the Seleucidan era (November B.C. 139; 1 Maccab. xv. 10), he must have granted the permission to strike coins in this year. The coins of Simon are then struck in the 174th year of the Seleucidan era, from (November?) B.C. 139 to February B.C. 135, the 177th year of the Seleucidan era and the year of the death of Simon. This will give *three years* and the commencement of a *fourth* for the *four* years of Simon of which we possess coins. (For the whole question of the dates of the Syrian kings, see Clinton, vol. iii. *passim*, especially his Table, p. 346.) By this it will be seen that the dates on the coins refer rather to the years of their issue than to the years of Simon, for we have seen that his first year was in B.C. 143 (1 Maccab. xiii. 42). It is, however, worthy of remark, that in the same year of the permission being granted to Simon, viz. *Ann. Sel.* 174 (B.C. 139; 1 Maccab. xv. 10—25), Antiochus 'brake *all the covenants* which he had made with him afore.' Does this prove that Simon struck coins previous to the actual permission being granted, viz. from his first year (B.C. 143) for the coins of the four years would then be struck during the most prosperous period of his reign? (cf. *Num. Journ.* vol. i. p. 61). In this case, the dates on the coins would refer to the years of Simon's reign, and not to the years after the special permission of coining was granted. Would it not also better account for the introduction of a copper coinage at the fourth year? As then Simon reigned eight years, and the four years of coinage will, as I have pointed out, apply to either four years of his reign, I leave the 'choice' to those who would wish to further investigate the subject.

him, and after defeating Tryphon, in B.C. 139, sent Athenobius with the following message:—"Ye withhold Joppe and Gazara, with the tower that is in Jerusalem, which are cities of my realm. Now therefore deliver the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places, or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver: and for the harm that ye have done and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents; if not, we will come and fight against you."[1] Simon refused to agree to all these proposals, but sent one hundred talents for the cities of Joppe and Gazara. Antiochus immediately sent an army into Judæa under Cendebæus, and the aged Simon confided the management of the war to his two eldest sons, Judas and John. Cendebæus was put to flight, and 2000 Syrians were killed.

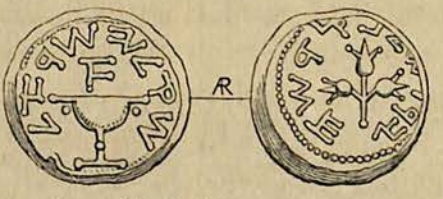
It was not, however, permitted to the aged Simon to end his days in peace. While taking a tour with his wife and two sons, Judas and Mattathias, he paid a visit to his son-in-law Ptolemy, governor of Jericho, at the fortress of Doch. There, in the middle of a feast, Ptolemy treacherously murdered him and his two sons (B.C. 135). He then wrote to inform Antiochus of what he had done, begging him to send an army to assist him in taking the country. He also sent some men to Gazara to kill John, who, being forewarned, was enabled to frustrate the wicked designs of his brother-in-law, and to destroy those who had come to slay him.[2]

[1] 1 Maccab. xv. 28, 30, 31.

[2] 1 Maccab. xv. 32 *seq.*; xvi. 1 *seq.*; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 7, 2, 3.

A. Simon Maccabæus.

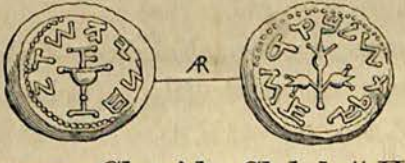
B.C. 143—B.C. 139, or B.C. 139—B.C. 135.



1. *Obv.* שקל ישראל *Shekel Israel.* "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice: above, the letter א, *i.e.* the numeral 1 (the first year of Simon's reign or of coinage).

Rev. ירושלם קדשה, *Jerushalem kedoshah.* "Jerusalem the Holy." A triple lily or hyacinth. (De Saulcy, pl. I, no. 1.) AR. 6.

Besides the shekels of the year one, there are also half-shekels;



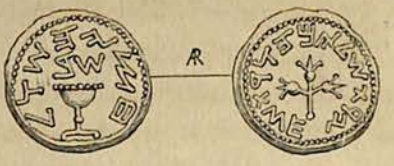
2. *Obv.* חצי השקל, *Chatzi ha-Shekel.* "Half-shekel." A cup or chalice: above, the letter א, *i.e.* year 1.

Rev. ירושלם קדשה, *Jerushalem kedoshah.* "Jerusalem the Holy." A triple lily. (De Saulcy, pl. I. no. 2.) AR. 4.

The shekels of the year *two* and *three* are nearly the same in the inscriptions;

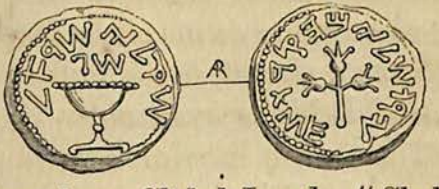
3. *Obv.* שקל ישראל, *Shekel Israel.* "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice; above, the letters שב (for שנת"ב *Shenath Shethaim*) year 2.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה, *Jerushalaim ha-kedoshah.* "Jerusalem the Holy." A triple lily. (De Saulcy, pl. I. no. 3.) AR. 6.



4. *Obv.* חצי השקל, *Chatzi ha-Shekel.* "Half-shekel." A cup or chalice; above, the letters שב, *i.e.* year 2.

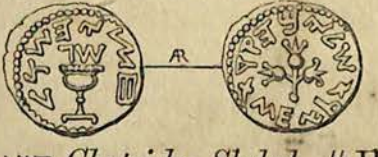
Rev. ירושלים הקדושה, *Jerushalaim ha-kedoshah.* "Jerusalem the holy." A triple lily. (De Saulcy, pl. I. no. 4.) AR. 4.



5. *Obv.* שקל ישראל, *Shekel Israel.* "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice: above, the letters שג (for שנת״ג, *Shenath Shelosh*) year 3.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה, *Jerushalaim ha-kedoshah.* "Jerusalem the Holy." A triple lily. (British Museum: *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. I. no. 5.) AR. 6.

Of the half-shekel of the year three, M. De Saulcy remarks, "Le demi-sicle de l'an III. s'il existe, n'a pas encore été retrouvé." The Rev. H. C. Reichardt has recently published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*[3] one of two specimens from his cabinet, both found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and both decidedly genuine.



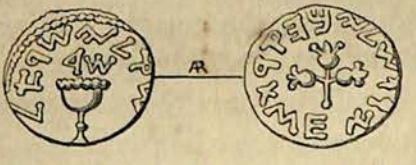
6. *Obv.* חצי חשקל *Chatzi ha-Shekel.* "Half-shekel." A cup or chalice: above, the letters שג, *i.e.* year three.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה, *Jerushalaim ha-kedoshah.* "Jerusalem the Holy." A triple lily. AR. 4.

[3] N. S. vol. ii. p. 268; pl. vi. 1.

The mode of writing ירושלים instead of ירושלם from the year two, has been supposed by Cavedoni[4] to allude to the taking of the fortress of Sion from the Syrians, and that the fortress constituted a second town, and therefore necessitated the employment of a *dual* name. This opinion is repudiated by M. De Saulcy.[5]

It has also been often doubted whether the Jews issued silver coins after the third year of Simon's reign, and no silver piece was known till the Rev. H. C. Reichardt recently published an entire shekel of the fourth year, which was obtained from a peasant living in the neighbourhood of a village called Beit-Zakarieh, about 3½ miles S.W. of Jerusalem.[6] The reverse inscription is similar to that of the second year; and the obverse has שקל ישראל, *Shekel Israel.* שד year 4.



7. *Obv.* שקל ישראל, *Shekel Israel.* "Shekel of Israel." A cup or chalice; above, the letters שד (for שנת"ד, *Shenath arba*) year 4.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה, *Jerushalaim ha-kedoshah.* "Jerusalem the Holy." A triple lily. AR. 6.

Mr. Reichardt also possesses a plated coin of the same size and same description as the above, but weighing considerably less.

The title 'Holy' appears to have been attached to Jerusalem at a very early time[7] and in the decree of Demetrius Soter, it is expressly stated that it should

[4] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 23.

[5] *Num. Jud.* p. 18, *note.*

[6] *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. vol. ii. p. 269; pl. vi. 2.

[7] Isaiah xlviii. 2; lii. 1; Dan. ix. 24; Nehem. xi. 1, 18; Joel iii. 17.

be 'holy and free.'[8] The right of *asylum* was also granted to it.[9] In the Gospel of St. Matthew it is also called the 'holy city,'[1] and it retains this appellation in its present Arabic name, *El-Kuds*,—'the holy.' The titles of holy (*ἱέρα*) and inviolable (*ἄσυλος*) were adopted by many Greek cities, especially the coast cities of the Mediterranean, which had been exempted from taxes, and these words are inscribed upon the coins.[2] It is probable that the inscription on the shekels of Simon was employed in the same sense.

Besides these silver shekels there are also copper coins, but only of the *fourth year*. The entire piece, which was first published by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt,[3] has on the obverse the legend שקל ישראל *Shekel Israel.* Shekel of Israel. The type is a chalice over which are the letters ש"ד *i.e.* year 4, and on the reverse ירושלים הקדושה *Jeru-shalaim ha-kedoshah*, "The Holy Jerusalem;" and the type a triple lily. It will be seen that this piece has the same inscription and type as the silver coins.

The Half-piece may be described as follows:

[8] Καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἦτω ἁγία καὶ ἀφειμένη, 1 Maccab. x. 31; cf. xv. 7; ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἐλευθέραν, Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 2, 3.

[9] 1 Maccab. x. 43.

[1] ἡ ἁγία πόλις, Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53; ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία, Rev. xi. 2.

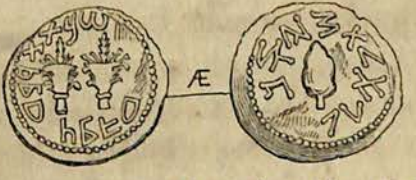
[2] On the coins of Tyre and Sidon, and also on those of Laodicea and Seleucia, etc. Mionnet, *Description de Médailles*, vol. v. pp. 65, 80, 93, 272.

[3] *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft*, 1857, p. 155. I cannot understand why Mr. Reichardt has left out this coin in his paper communicated to the *Numismatic Chronicle* (N. S. vol. ii. p. 268), as all the other coins which were published in the above-named German periodical are reproduced in the *Chronicle*. Is there a mistake in the German paper, and can we consider this *copper shekel* as the *plated* coin of the year 4, weighing 11·005 grammes (169 grains), and mentioned in Mr. Reichardt's paper in the *Chronicle* (p. 269)? See some remarks on this copper shekel later (pp. 47, 48).

8. *Obv.* שנת ארבע חצי, *Shenath arba Chatzi.* "In the fourth year—one-half." Two bunches of thickly-leaved branches, between which a citron.[4]

Rev. לגאלת ציון, *Ligullath Zion.* "The redemption of Zion." A palm-tree between two baskets filled with dates and other fruits. (De Saulcy, pl. I. no. 6.) Æ. 10.

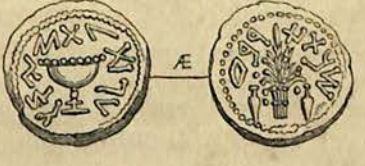
There are also quarter pieces of copper:



9. *Obv.* שנת ארבע רביע, *Shenath arba Rebia.* "In the fourth year—one quarter." Two bundles of branches.

Rev. לגאלת ציון, *Ligullath Zion.* "The redemption of Zion." An *Ethrog.* (De Saulcy, pl. I. no. 7.) Æ. 6.

The smallest piece is the sixth[5] of the shekel in copper:



10. *Obv.* לגאלת ציון, *Ligullath Zion.* "The redemption of Zion." A cup or chalice.

Rev. שנת ארבע,[6] *Shenath arba.* "In the fourth year." A bundle of branches between two *Ethrogs.* (De Saulcy, pl. I. no. 8.) Æ. 5.

[4] The bunch of branches is called *Lulab* and the citron, *Ethrog* (p. 50).

[5] See chapter on 'Weights,' § iii.

[6] The *Schin* on these coins is sometimes formed W, sometimes ω.

From the fact of an entire copper shekel having been discovered of the fourth year, in which year we now know that silver shekels were also struck, it would appear as if some financial embarrassment had compelled the Jews to issue a copper shekel.[7] History, however, gives no information, though the operations against Antiochus Sidetes, which must have put the Jews to great expense, seeing that they sent into the field an army of 20,000 infantry with cavalry, may have caused a scarcity of money.[8] It seems excessively unlikely that a copper shekel of the fourth year should have been struck, seeing that we now know for certain of the existence of a silver one of the same year. Cavedoni, who has written a short review of Levy's work, in speaking of this copper shekel says, "being aware how prevalent the art of falsifying ancient money has become, I am inclined to believe that the copper shekel of the fourth year is nothing else but *l'anima di un Siclo d'argento suberato*, and so much the more because two instances of the silver shekels with the type of the *lulab* and tetrastyle temple were already known as *suberati* in the time of Bayer (pp. 142, 149), one in the Bouterone collection, the other in the Pembroke."[9]

The type of the obverse of the silver shekels and half shekels and on the sixth of the copper shekel of the fourth year, has been usually considered to be the pot of manna. "And Moses said unto Aaron, Take a pot, and put an omer full of manna therein, and lay it up before the Lord, to be kept for your generations."[10] In this

[7] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 45.

[8] 1 Maccab. xvi. 4: Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 7, 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 2.

[9] *Nuovi studi sopra le antiche monete Giudaiche*, pp. 11, 12. Levy's note (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 45) is not very intelligible, for he refers to Cavedoni, vol. i. p. 50, *note* 29, for the weight of the copper shekel. As far as I can make out, the shekel of which Cavedoni there speaks is the large bronze coin engraved on the title page of Bayer's book, and in the *Trésor de Numismatique, Des Rois Grecs*, pl. lvii. 15, and has nothing whatever to do with the shekel in question.

[10] Exod. xvi. 33.

passage the manna pot is called *Zinzeneth* (צנצנת), a word most probably derived from צנן (= גנן) 'to protect,' which would infer that the vessel had a cover. Now the vase upon these coins has no cover. Perhaps it was a flat one, or else only indicated the representation of something like the pot of manna, of which at this time there could be only a traditional recollection.[1] The vessel may, however, represent some other piece of the furniture of the Temple, such as, perhaps, a chalice. Cavedoni[2] and Levy[3] are inclined to take this view of it, and the former states that there is a chalice similar to the one on these coins, which was on the golden table of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and which was carried to Rome, and represented on the triumphal arch of Titus, together with the golden candlestick.

The reverse type has usually been considered to represent Aaron's rod that budded. "And behold the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds."[4] The triple blossom has certainly not much resemblance to the almond-blossom, and Cavedoni prefers seeing a hyacinth or lily, according to the words of Holy Writ, "I will be as dew upon Israel, and he shall bloom like a lily."[5]

The selection of the palm-tree on the copper coins was peculiarly appropriate, as it was famous as a product of

[1] R. S. Poole, Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, art. *Money*.

[2] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 29.

[3] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 138.

[4] Numbers xvii. 8.

[5] Hosea xiv. 6; cf. Isaiah xxvii. 6; xxxv. 1. Mr. Poole does not consider Cavedoni's arguments conclusive, either with regard to the vase or to the three blossoms, and prefers considering them still as 'the pot of manna' and 'Aaron's rod.' (Kitto's *Cycl. of Bibl. Lit.* p. 215, *s. v. Ark of the Covenant.*)

Palestine,[6] and is found on other coins of Judæa.[7] The branch of the palm-tree may also be found on the coins of some of the princes of Judæa,[8] and of those struck during the revolt of the Jews.[9] The palm-branch, in conjunction with the myrtle, the willow, and the *Ethrog*, represented the Festal branch which every Israelite was to carry at the feast of Tabernacles. "And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs (*Heb.* fruit) of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days."[1] According to tradition the myrtle (ענף עץ עבת) and willow, with the palm-branch, tied together in a bunch[2] were to be carried in the *right* hand, and the *Ethrog* (פרי עץ הדר = אתרוג) in the *left*.[3] Such a bunch may be seen on Nos. 8, 9 and 10, and close by it the *Ethrog*, excepting on No. 9, where the bunches are on the obverse, and the *Ethrog* on the reverse. This fruit is only found on the coins of Simon Maccabæus. The palm-branch was attendant upon all festive occasions, as, for instance, the taking of the citadel by Simon,[4] and on the purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus.[5] The baskets with dates and other fruits on No. 8 no doubt bear reference to the offerings of the First-fruits (בכורים), which;

[6] 'Judæa vero inclyta est vel magis *palmis*.' Plin. N. H. xiii. 4. 'Exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem; præterque eas, balsamum et *palmæ*.' Tac. *Hist.* v. 6; cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 1, 2.

[7] See below, the coins of Herod Antipas, also the coins commemorative of the capture of Jerusalem.

[8] See the coins of Herod I.

[9] See the coins of Eleazar, Simon son of Gorias, etc.

[1] Levit. xxiii. 40; cf. Nehem. viii. 15.

[2] This bunch was called *lulab* (לולב) which strictly means only a palm-branch (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* c. 1143).

[3] Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, pp. 134, 135.

[4] 1 Maccab. xiii. 51. See p. 38.

[5] 2 Maccab. x. 6 *seq.*

on ascending the mount of the Temple, each person was compelled to take upon his shoulder, and proceed to the court of the Temple, where he was met by the Levites singing.[6] Should these types not be intended to have reference to the festivals, they at any rate fully indicate the peace and prosperity of the land. "Then did they till the ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit."[7]

B. JOHN HYRCANUS.

B. C. 135—B. C. 106.

Immediately on the murder of Simon, John Hyrcanus[8] assumed the dignity of High-Priest, and made an expedition against Ptolemy, his father's murderer, who had fled to Zeno Cotylas, the tyrant of the city of Philadelphia. It seems excessively probable that Ptolemy and Antiochus Sidetes had arranged this assassination between them, for immediately after the flight of Ptolemy, Antiochus undertook an expedition against the Jews.

[6] For an account of these offerings, see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, art. *First-fruits*.

[7] 1 Maccab. xiv. 8 *seq.*

[8] The reason for the assumption of the name of *Hyrcanus* by John is uncertain. In the Arabic book of Maccabees (xx. 1-3) it is said that he received it on account of his slaying a certain man who was called Hyrcanus. Eusebius (*Chron.* lib. ii. ed. Mai, 1818, p. 359) and Sulpitius Severus (*Hist. Sacr.* lib. ii. 26) say that he adopted it in consequence of a victory gained over the Hyrcanians. John had accompanied Antiochus VII. Sidetes into Parthia (as stated further on), and a trophy was erected at the river Lycus (in Assyria) to commemorate the victory over the Parthian general. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8, 4.) The Hyrcanians were a nation whose territory was bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea, and would thus be at no great distance from Parthia. Josephus, however, gives no explanation of the name (*Antiq.* xiii. 7, 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 3), and John is nowhere called Hyrcanus in 1 Maccabees. There is another Hyrcanus (LXX, Ὑρκάνος; Vulg. *Hircanus*) a *son* (?) of Tobias, mentioned in 2 Maccabees (iii. 11) and in Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 4, 2, 5, 1). See Kitto's *Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit.* new ed. *s. v. Hircanus*.

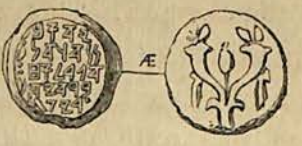
As he came with a very large army Hyrcanus did not venture to oppose him, and was consequently closely besieged in Jerusalem. Famine would soon have compelled him to surrender, had not an opportunity offered of making peace with the king. The feast of Tabernacles being near at hand, John sent to Antiochus, and desired a truce for seven days, which Antiochus not only granted but sent in animals to be used for the sacrifices. Pleased with this friendly behaviour John again sent to make terms of permanent peace, which Antiochus, contrary to the wishes of his generals, agreed to, on the conditions, that they should deliver up their arms, pay tribute for Joppa and the other cities which bordered upon Judæa, and give him hostages and five hundred talents of silver. Three hundred talents and the hostages were immediately sent, for Hyrcanus preferred this latter condition to allowing a Syrian garrison to be placed inside Jerusalem. This took place in B.C. 133. Four years afterwards, John Hyrcanus accompanied Antiochus in his expedition against the Parthians, and Antiochus, though at first successful, was eventually slain by Phraates II. in B. C. 128. Immediately on hearing of the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus was enabled to recover his independence, and reduced several cities. Sichem was stormed, and the hated temple on Mount Gerizim was destroyed. Idumæa was subdued, and the people compelled to become Jews. Hyrcanus was now desirous of making a league of friendship with the Romans, and sent an embassy to them, which was favourably received by the Senate, and the alliance that had been concluded with Simon was again renewed. In the meantime in the Syrian kingdom there were continual dissensions, and Hyrcanus not only concluded an alliance with the pretender Alexander Zebina, B.C. 126, but extended his power in every direction. Several years elapsed, till at length he laid siege to Samaria, which city he destroyed entirely in B. C. 109.

His rule towards the close of his life was not so successful at home as abroad, for there were constant disturbances between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, and Hyrcanus, who had been at first attached to the former party, quarrelled with them and inclined towards the opposite faction. He did not experience the sad results of his proceedings, dying after thirty years' reign in B.C. 106.[9] Josephus says that he was esteemed by God worthy of three privileges—the government of his nation, the High-Priesthood, and prophecy.[1]

Of the reign of John Hyrcanus there are a large number of coins, but they are only struck in copper.

[9] Eusebius (*Chron.*) assigns to John Hyrcanus a reign of only 26 years. Josephus, on the contrary, gives to him *thirty* (*τριάκοντα δ' ἐν ἔτεσι τῆς τιμῆς ἀπολαύσας*, *Antiq.* xx. 10), *thirty-one* (*τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησάμενος τὸν ἄριστον τρόπον ἔτεσιν ἑνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα*, *Antiq.* xiii. 10, 7), and *thirty-three* years of reign (*καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν κάλλιστα διοικήσας ἐν τρισὶ καὶ τριάκοντα ὅλοις ἔτεσιν*, *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 8). We have two certain dates to calculate from. We know that the first year of Hyrcanus I. was contemporary with the fourth year of Antiochus VII. Sidetes (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8, 2; the date following this passage is corrupt, Clinton, F. H. vol. iii. p. 330, *note* z), and that Simon died in Feb. B.C. 135, consequently the first year of Hyrcanus I. ended in Feb. B.C. 134. We also know that Hyrcanus II. succeeded Alexandra in *Ol.* 177, 3, *Hortensio et Metello consulibus*, B.C. 69 (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 1, 2). Allowing then one year to Judas Aristobulus (*βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτόν*, Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11, 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3, 6), 27 years to Alexander Jannæus, B.C. 105 to 78 (*βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι*, Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 15, 5; *Bell. Jud.* i. 4, 8), and 9 years to Alexandra, B.C. 78 to 69 (*βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἐννέα*, Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 16, 6; *Bell. Jud.* i. 5, 4), we obtain a term of 30 years (Feb. B.C. 135 to end of B.C. 106) for the reign of Hyrcanus. Cavedoni has already published a coin with the date L.Λ (year 30). See its description later (p. 60.)

[1] *Antiq.* xiii. 10, 7; *Bell. Jud.* i. 2, 8.



1. *Obv.* יהוח
נכהכהנ
חגדלוח
ברחיח
[ו]דים

i.e. יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היח[ו]דים, *Jehochanan Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber*[2] *Hajehudim.* "Johanan High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews," within a wreath of laurel or olive.

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ, between which a poppy-head.[3] (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) Æ 3.

The name of John Hyrcanus is written in three ways upon his coins, יהוחנן *Jehochanan*,[4] יהוכנן *Jehokanan*,[5] and יהונן *Jehonan*.[6] De Saulcy[7] reads the legend '*Jehouhanna le cohen suprême et l'ami des Juifs*,' but Cavedoni[8] cannot understand why a king of Jewish descent and of the

[2] This word is usually written as here described וחבר (cf. De Saulcy, pl. iii. nos, 2, 3, 7, 11; xx. no. 3), but sometimes וחחבר *Vehacheber* (De Saulcy, pl. iii. no. 6, and xx. no. 1), and in one instance וחבר *Veheber* (De Saulcy, pl. iii. no. 1). Levy observes that the permutation of *He* and *Cheth* is not elsewhere to be met with, but that of *Cheth* and *Koph* is to be found in the Biblical writings, as חתת and כתת; חבר and כבר, etc. (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 50, *note* 2.)

[3] De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.* p. 97 *seq.*) considers this to be a pomegranate, but Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 18), following Eckhel, describes it as a poppy-head, as it fits so well into the cornua-copiæ, and has a long straight stalk, whereas that of the pomegranate is small, short, and crooked. (Duc de Luynes, *Numismatique des Satrapies*, pl. iii.)

[4] De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* pl. iii. nos. 1, 2, 7, 12; xx. nos. 1, 3.

[5] Pl. iii. nos. 3, 11.

[6] Pl. iii. nos. 4, 5.

[7] *Num. Jud.* p. 84.

[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 14.

lineage of Aaron should have adopted the title 'friend of the Jews.' He says, "it would have been better to have had ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ, as was the case with Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and other Greeks (Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 462). Judas Aristobulus, son of this John, called himself Φιλέλλην (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, 3), but I do not think that any prince of Jewish origin called himself Φιλοϊουδαιος. Therefore, I think that instead of *Vechaber*, we must read *Vecheber*, i.e. *societas*, *natio*, *gens*, *populus*, and consider that these coins were struck with the name of the Jewish nation and its king John. In a similar manner are found in the records of the time of the Maccabees (1 Maccab. viii. 20), *Judas Machabæus et fratres ejus et populus* (τὸ πλῆθος) *Judæorum*, and in 1 Maccab. xii. 3, *Jonathas summus sacerdos et gens Judæorum* (καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων)." Levy,[9] however, though agreeing with this interpretation, suggests "that *cheber* means a *limited association*, and that if the *whole people of the Jews* were meant, the form would be *Wehajehudim*, and not *Vecheber hajehudim*. Also among the Phœnicians (viz. the inscription of Marseilles), the ἑταιρείαι (Societies) are denoted by חברנם *Chebronim* (the plural of חברן). In this inscription the *Suffetes* mentioned in the beginning of the decree are the representatives of the *Senate*, and by their side stand the *Chebronim*, as with the Greeks the Φρατρίαι, and with the Romans the *Curiæ*. As the *Suffetes* and *Confederation* together issue a decree to the Carthaginians, this is accordingly equivalent to *Suffetes* and *Elders* (γέροντες) or *Senators*. So now at this time among the Jews is there a combination of authority for the issue of edicts, 'The High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews.'"[1] Cave-

[9] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 50, *note* 3.

[1] See the proclamation of Demetrius to the Jews, in which mention

doni[2] further suggests that it might be translated by the phrase πολιτεύμα Ἰουδαίων, which occurs in a well-known decree of the Jews of Berenice in the Cyrenaica,[3] but does not like entirely to resign its connection with the Greek ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων, especially as the title ἐθνάρχος was given by Augustus to one of the sons of Herod the Great.[4]

A piece recently published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*[5] by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt seems to favour this idea. Its description is as follows:—

2. *Obv.* יהו
חננהכ[הנ]
הגדולרא
שהחבר
הי

i.e. יהוחנן הכ[הן] הגדול ראש החבר הי[הודים], *Jehochanan Hakkohen Haggadol Rosh Hacheber Hajehudim.* "Johanan the High-Priest and Prince of the Confederation of the Jews," written within a wreath.

Rev. A double cornu-copiæ. Æ. 3.

The obverse legend has been interpreted by Reichardt, 'Johanan the High-Priest and chief of the doctors among the Jews,' but Cavedoni reads it 'Head or Prince of the nation of the Jews.'

Taking into consideration these various views concerning the word חבר *Cheber*, we think that Levy's translation 'Confederation' is the most expressive, and it will therefore be adopted in describing the coins that follow.[6]

is made of the ἄρχοντες or πρεσβύτεροι, of whom the γερουσία was composed. (P. 37, *note* 1.)

[2] *Nuovi studi sopra le antiche monete Giudaiche*, pp. 13, 14.

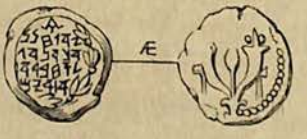
[3] *Corpus Insc. Græc.* no. 5361; cf. 2 Maccab. xii. 7.

[4] See Archelaus. (Chap. V. *Sect.* B.)

[5] N.S. vol. ii. p. 269.

[6] Ewald (quoted by Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 15) says that the latter part of the inscription (חבר) would be more correctly ren-

Peculiar among the coins of John Hyrcanus are certain specimens which have above the Hebrew inscription a Greek A.



3. *Obv.*

A

יהוחנן

הכהנהג

[ד]לוחברה[י]

הודים

i.e. יהוחנן הכהן הג[ד]ל וחבר ה[י]הודים *Jehochanan Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajehudim.* "Johanan the High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews," written within a wreath.

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ, between which a poppy-head (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) Æ. 3.

The Greek A upon this coin relates, according to De Saulcy,[7] to an alliance between John Hyrcanus and either Antiochus VII. Sidetes (in the year B.C. 134) or Alexander II. Zebina (B.C. 126), the A being the initial letter of the name of one of these princes. Cavedoni,[8] however, conjectures that this letter has a connection with the

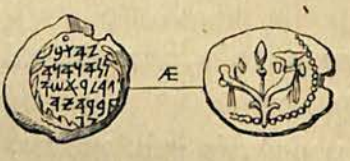
dered by 'General of the Jews,' as חבו is used in its warlike meaning of gathering together the leader with his troops (Gen. xiv. 3), therefore חבר may denote "the leader or commander." This agrees with the words of 1 Maccab. xiii. 42, 'the governor and leader of the Jews.' I find, however, in Tregelles' English translation of Gesenius (*s. v.* חבר, p. cclviii.) that the passage in Genesis is interpreted 'all these *came together as confederates* unto the valley of Siddim.' 'Confederation' is the word we want. The Rev. H. C. Reichardt, quoting from the Rabbi E. Levita, in his book called 'Thishbi,' *s. v.* חבר, explains it as "chief of the doctors (amongst the Jews)." (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 269.)

7 *Num. Jud.* p. 99.

8 *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 17.

wreath, and that it denotes a *corona aurea*, which was given to John Hyrcanus by a Syrian king, as it is known that Alexander I. Bala, to strengthen his friendship with Jonathan, sent him besides other distinctions a *purpura et corona aurea*.[9] Antiochus Sidetes may have given the golden crown to Hyrcanus when he came to offer gold and silver vessels to the Temple at Jerusalem,[1] or when Hyrcanus accompanied him on his expedition against the Parthians.[2] We prefer, however, considering that the A designates an alliance between one of these Syrian kings, and John Hyrcanus, unless indeed it denotes the 'year 1' (see the 'year 30,' p. 60).

There is a coin given by De Saulcy which, though containing the usual legend, has some letters which he has left unexplained.



4. *Obv.*

יהוכ

נחכהנה

גדל ...ו

חברהיה

[וד]ים

i.e. יהוכנן הכהן הגדל ... וחבר היה[וד]ים *Jehokanan Hakkohen Haggadol . . . Vecheber Hajehudim.* "Johanan the High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews," written within a wreath.

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ, between which a poppy-head. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; cf. De Saulcy, pl. III. no. 3.) Æ. 3.

Ewald[3] has supposed that only two letters are of doubtful reading in this coin, whereas there are really three. He

[9] "A purple robe and golden crown." 1 Maccab. x. 20.

[1] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8, 2. [2] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8, 4.

[3] *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1855, article 65, p. 643.

has suggested for the two חם, and Levy[4] has supplied the third ו, making וחם 'pious, upright.'[5] Ewald also suggests that the word should be רש 'the highest general,' and quotes a corresponding term in the Maccabees.[6] This proposition is, according to Levy,[7] quite unjustifiable. He however hints that perhaps the letters may be ראש 'head or prince,' and interpreted according to the passage in Chronicles.[8] From the specimen of this coin in the cabinet of Mr. Wigan, an engraving of which is given above, I can safely say that the three letters ωXϘ (= ראש) do occur. This fact is further corroborated by the coin of John Hyrcanus, which was first communicated by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.[9]

The type of the two cornua-copiæ first occurs on the Egyptian coins,[1] and was probably adopted on the coins of the Seleucidæ on the occasion of a marriage with an Egyptian princess.[2] The type on these Jewish coins seems to be an imitation of some of the coins of the kings of Syria. The two cornua-copiæ are first met with on coins of Alexander, which Mionnet[3] ascribes to Alexander II. Zebina (B.C. 128—122), but which Cavedoni[4] thinks might more correctly be attributed to Alexander I. Balas. They also occur on a unique tetradrachm of Cleopatra, and the type

[4] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 52, *note*. [5] Job, *passim*. *Cf.* Esp. Gen. xxv. 27.

[6] Ἐπὶ . . . . . ἀρχιερέως μεγάλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου Ἰουδαίων. 1 Maccab. xiii. 42.

[7] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 52, *note*. [8] כהן הראש 2 Chron. xix. 11.

[9] See p. 56. Since writing the above, Dr. Levy has written to Mr. Vaux, stating that, after seeing the description of Reichardt's coin, he is certain the disputed word should be read ראש.

[1] On the golden octodrachms of Arsinoë, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 279 *seq.*).

[2] R. S. Poole, art. *Money*, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*.

[3] Vol. v. p. 83 ,nos. 730, 731.

[4] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 16, *note* 9.

may have been adopted on her marriage with Alexander I. Balas, B.C. 150.[5] The wreath which encircles the inscription on the above-described coins of Hyrcanus, probably takes its origin from the coins of Antiochus VI., the son of Alexander I.[6] If the coins with the two cornua-copiæ really originate with Alexander II. Zebina, then John Hyrcanus made this type a sign of his alliance with Zebina,[7] and in this case the Greek A on some of his coins would refer to the latter king.[8] The type of the double cornu-copiæ is itself perhaps emblematical of the prosperity of the reign of John Hyrcanus.[9]

The small coin with a Hebrew inscription within a wreath and with two cornua-copiæ and poppy-head, and over the cornua-copiæ the Greek letters L. A, which was previously assigned by Cavedoni[1] to king Alexander, is now attributed by the same numismatist[2] to his father John Hyrcanus. The date instead of being L. A (year 1) is L. Λ (year 30), and Alexander only reigned 27 years, whereas Hyrcanus was High-Priest for 30.[3] The

[5] R. S. Poole, *l. c.*

[6] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 233. [7] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9, 3.

[8] See p. 57. In any case, the earliest of these dates is *after* the death of Judas, and in the middle of that of Jonathan; whilst Alexander II. Zebina was contemporary with John Hyrcanus. It would be very singular to have the type of the two cornua-copiæ on coins of the Maccabæan princes before it was adopted on those of the kings of Syria. (See *Introduction*, p. x.) The same type occurs on the coins of the Herods, and on the coins of Tiberius struck by the procurator in A.D. 33, and also on the coins of Agrippa II. (described, Chap. V. *Sect.* G.; no. 4, under Nero, A.D. 59; no. 8, under Domitian, A.D. 86; no. 10, *id.* A.D. 87; no. 11, *id.* A.D. 94. This last has a *single* cornu-copiæ.) This is almost the latest example of its use, but Mionnet (vol. v. p. 484 *seq.*) gives it on a coin of Trajan struck at Tiberias.

[9] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 10, 1.

[1] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 21, *note* 13; Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 60, *note* 1.

[2] *Nuovi Studi sopra le antiche Monete Giudaiche*, p. 13.

[3] Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 10. See *note* on p. 53.

only remaining Hebrew letter is *Nun*, which is applicable either to *Jehonathan* or *Jehochanan*. It is much to be regretted that no engraving of this coin is given.

C. Judas Aristobulus.

B.C. 106—B.C. 105.

Immediately after the death of John Hyrcanus, Judas Aristobulus[4] succeeded and took the title of King, being the first instance of the assumption of that name since the Captivity.[5] His mother, to whom Hyrcanus had left the government by will, wished to reign, but Aristobulus put her in prison and caused her to be starved to death. He also imprisoned three of his brothers, but the fourth, Antigonus, was his favourite, and with him he shared his kingdom. During his reign he subdued the Ituræans, and compelled them to embrace the Jewish religion. During the progress of this expedition, illness forced him to return to Jerusalem, and he resigned the command to Antigonus, who, being calumniated by the intrigues of the Queen and others, was assassinated the day after he returned to Jerusalem. Not long after, Judas Aristobulus also died, as it is said, in remorse for his misdeeds, having reigned only one year.[6] He received the name of Φιλέλλην[7] (lover of the Grecians). His coins inform

[4] Josephus gives him the Hebrew name, *Judas*, as well as the Greek one, *Aristobulus*. *Antiq.* xx. 10, 1.

[5] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11, 1; xx. 10, 1; *Bell. Jud.* 3, 1. Also Eusebius, Ἀριστόβουλος υἱὸς Ἰωάνθου πρὸς τῇ ἀρχιεροσύνῃ διάδημα περιέθετο βασιλικὸν πρῶτος (*Chron.* ii. ed. Mai, 1818, p. 360). The Arabic version of the Maccabees (chap. xxii. ed. Cotton), however, contains a decree of the Roman Senate in which John Hyrcanus is styled King, whilst Strabo (lib. xvi. 2, 40, ed. Didot, p. 649) asserts that Alexander Jannæus first assumed the regal title.

[6] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11; *Bell. Jud.* i. 3.

[7] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 11, 3.

us that he did not place upon them the title of King, though, as above observed, he had usurped that title.

The coins now attributed to Judas Aristobulus by Cavedoni[8] and Levy,[9] were formerly attributed, and incorrectly, by De Saulcy[1] to Judas Maccabæus, and the two examples given by him mutually supply the following legend:—

Obv. Within an olive wreath—

יהוד
הכהנגל
ולוחבר
הי

i.e. [חודים]' יחודה כהן גלול וחבר הי *Jehudah Kohen Galul? Vecheber Hajehudim.* "Judas, High-Priest, and the Confederation of the Jews."

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ: in the middle a poppy-head. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; De Saulcy, pl. II. nos. 1, 2.) Æ. 3.

De Saulcy[2] has read this coin כהן גלול *Kohen Galul*, but it seems more probable that the correct form is גדול *Gadol*.[3] The blunders in these small copper coins make it however very difficult to say which is the correct reading. After the attention of M. De Saulcy was called to the fact, he again examined the coins,[4] and on one of them he read very clearly and distinctly גלול *Galul;* on three others very clearly גדול *Gadol*, and on a fourth גדל. He

[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 18.
[9] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 54.
[1] *Num. Jud.* p. 84.
[2] *Num. Jud. l. c.*
[3] Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 19, *note* 11; Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 55.
[4] *Revue Numismatique*, 1857, p. 290.

was therefore inclined to think that the ל (*Lamed*) ought to be replaced by the ד (*Daleth*). Mr. Reichardt[5] states that on two coins in his cabinet the adjective גדול is quite clear. Mr. Poole has suggested to me that the word גלול *Galul*, may be compared with the Arabic root جَلَلَ 'he or it was illustrious.'

From the shortness of the reign of Judas Aristobulus, his coins are of great rarity, and they prove that he contented himself with the title alone of 'High-Priest.'

D. Alexander Jannæus.

B.C. 105—B.C. 78.

Alexander Jannæus,[6] the eldest of the three surviving brothers of Aristobulus, when released from prison, took the government and put to death one of his brothers, who disputed his right to the throne, leaving the other one to lead a private life. His first act was to lay siege to the cities of Ptolemaïs (Acre), Dora, Stratonis Turris and Gaza. The inhabitants of Ptolemaïs applied to Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Cyprus, who entered Palestine at the head of thirty thousand men. A great battle was fought near the river Jordan, and Alexander was totally defeated. Ptolemy then overran all the country, which experienced the barbarous cruelty of the conqueror. Alexander would have been entirely lost, had not Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, who was frightened lest her son should attempt to enter her kingdom, sent to the assistance of

[5] *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. ii. p. 270.

[6] Ἰανναῖος, Ἰαννέας (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 12, 1; cf. Luke iii. 24, Ἰαννά, Ἰανναί). Josephus also calls him Alexander (*l. c.*). He is known in the Talmud under the name of Jannai (ינאי), and his coins give us the names of 'Jonathan,' or 'Jehonathan.' The proper form is יני, as the *Aleph* is only a *mater lectionis*, as for instance the Biblical name שמי (1 Chron. ii. 28, 44; iv. 17) is written later שמאי. But יני or ינאי is only an abbreviation of יהונתן. The name ינאי means a 'Teacher' in the Talmud. (See *Gittin*, 60 a; Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 115, *note* 1.)

Alexander an army under Chelcias and Ananias. Ptolemy was thus obliged to return to Cyprus (B.C. 101). Soon afterwards Alexander invaded Cœle-Syria, and took several cities above Jordan, but being taken by surprise by the enemy, he was defeated, losing ten thousand men and all his baggage. In these and other struggles passed away a third of his reign, whilst at home the old dissension between the Pharisees and Sadducees continued to rage with violence. The former, who were jealous of the increasing power of Alexander, attacked him while he was officiating as High-Priest, rushing at him with their palm-branches, and pelting him with the *Ethrogs* (citrons): this outbreak was soon quelled, and 6000 of the insurgents were killed. After several years of civil war, he gained two decided victories, and having taken a great number of prisoners, he massacred eight hundred in the presence of his concubines while banqueting. This war cost the lives of 50,000 men. In consequence of his cruelties the Jews surnamed him 'the Thracian.' Towards the end of his reign he seems to have been on a better footing with his subjects. His conquests included 'cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumæans, and Phœnicians'; and whilst engaged in his attack on the fortress of Rangaba, in Gerasená, he took to excessive drinking, which soon caused his death. He left the government of the kingdom to his Queen Alexandra.[7]

Of the reign of Alexander Jannæus there are a large number of coins. Cavedoni[8] and Levy[9] attribute to him all the coins which De Saulcy has given to Jonathan Maccabæus, and the same idea has been adopted by Mr. Poole in the article MONEY, in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, printed but not published previously to Levy's book, owing to the long delay in the production of the

[7] See note under Alexandra, *Sect.* E. p. 71.

[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 12.

[9] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 57.

second volume. Levy arranges his coins in the following manner:

First coinage. Copper coins with Hebrew inscription, 'Jonathan the High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews.'

Second coinage. Copper coins with bilingual inscriptions —Hebrew, 'Jehonathan the King;' Greek, 'Alexander the King.'

Dr. Levy supposes this second coinage was struck on his quarrel with the popular party, and that he here appears as an independent ruler.

Third coinage. Copper coins with Hebrew inscription, 'Jehonathan the High-Priest and the Jews.'

This coinage Dr. Levy attributes to the time of Alexander's reconciliation with the Jews, and says that the legend 'is by no means a contemptible testimony of this brazen memorial, that the king wished to make the irritated people attached to him.'[1]

The collections of the British Museum, however, recently became enriched by the purchase of several restruck Jewish coins, and Mr. Poole,[2] in examining them, discovered that they bore traces of Greek inscriptions *under* the Hebrew. Barthelemy, quoted by De Saulcy,[3] mentions a coin of 'Jonathan the High-Priest,' with the traces of the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ and holds that they mark the alliance between Jonathan and Alexander I. Balas. This idea is out of the question. One of these double struck coins in the British Museum bears distinctly ΑΝΔΡ.Υ [ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ] and another ΕΩC (*βασιλέως.*)[4] From this fact it is certain that Dr. Levy's

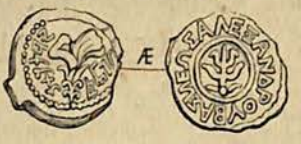
[1] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 60.

[2] Art. *Money*, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.* [3] *Num. Jud.* p. 87.

[4] Another coin of Alexander Jannæus, which has been recently acquired for the British Museum, shows distinct traces of the Hebrew legend on its reverse, נתן המ (יהונתן המלך).

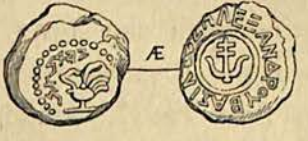
suggestion about the three coinages is not correct, and that we must accept the arrangement given by Mr. Poole.

First Coinage.



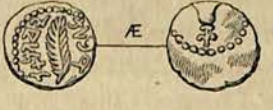
1. *Obv.* יהונתן המלך *Jehonathan Hammelek.* "The King Jehonathan." A half-opened flower.

Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of the King Alexander), written round a circle, within which is an anchor with two cross-timbers. (De Saulcy, pl. II. no. 8.) Æ. 3.



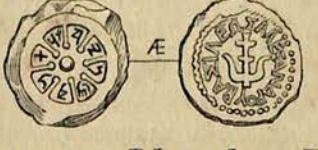
2. *Obv.* [המלך]יהונתן *Jehonathan* [*Hammelek*]. "The King Jehonathan." A half opened flower.

Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] round a circle, within which is an anchor. (De Saulcy, pl. II. no. 7.) Æ. 3.



3 *Obv.* יהונתן המלך *Jehonathan Hammelek.* "The King Jehonathan." written round a palm?-branch.

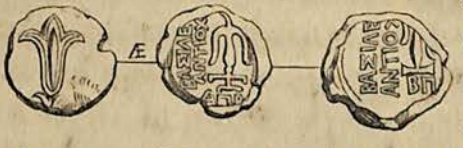
Rev. A flower (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. pl. vi. no. 3.) Æ. 3.



4. *Obv.* יהונתן המלך *Jehonathan Hammelek.* "The King Jehonathan," written within the intermediate spaces of a star with eight rays.

Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ written round an anchor. (De Saulcy, pl. II. no. 9.) Æ. 3.

The type of the anchor is probably borrowed from coins of the Seleucidæ. It may also perhaps allude to the possession of the sea-ports which Alexander had gained and joined to his kingdom.[4] The types of Nos. 1 and 2 seem to have been copied from one of Antiochus VII. Sidetes, with the dates of the Seleucidan era, ΒΠΡ (182) and ΑΠΡ (181), which De Saulcy[5] conjectures were struck at Jerusalem, and which correspond to B. C. 132 and B. C. 131.[6] The half-opened flower on the obverses of Nos. 1 and 2 (and probably the same flower on the reverse of No. 3) is, according to Cavedoni,[7] very similar to the flower found on the reverse of a small brass coin[8] of Antiochus VIII. Epiphanes, surnamed Grypus, or Hook-nosed, and may allude to an alliance between



[4] Gaza, Raphia, Anthedon, etc. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 15, 4).

[5] *Num. Jud.* pp. 100-102, pl. III. nos. 13, 14.

[6] Antiochus Sidetes laid siege to Jerusalem in B.C. 133, and met with great resistance from John Hyrcanus, with whom he was obliged to form a league of friendship. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 8, 2, 3.) Shortly afterwards Hyrcanus accompanied Antiochus in his expedition against the Parthians. (See p. 52.) Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 18, *note*) does not consider these coins as struck at Jerusalem, but as analogous to some with the head of Cupido and lotus-flower, which were struck in Syria, and especially as some of them bear the date ΔΠΡ (184), and Antiochus would not have struck money in Jerusalem during four years. De Saulcy, in reply (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 289) says that the lotus-flower is the *coiffure* of Isis, and that the head of Cupido would of course exclude these coins from Jerusalem. As regards the date ΔΠΡ, he has examined *more than thirty* of these coins coming from Jerusalem, and has never seen it. Cavedoni has most probably mistaken Α for Δ.

[7] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 22.

[8] *Trésor de Num. et Glyp.* pl. lii. no. 10.

Alexander and this king. The object on the obverse of No. 4, in the intermediate spaces of which is written 'The King Jehonathan,' has been described by most numismatists[9] as a *wheel*. Eckhel,[1] however, considers it to be a *star*, an opinion adopted by Cavedoni,[2] who suggests that Alexander, in consequence of his first conquests, may have prided himself that he was fulfilling the prophecy of Balaam.[3]

The title of 'King,'[4] occurring in Hebrew and in Greek, evidently show that these coins were struck before his quarrel with the Pharisees,[5] though the adoption of the Greek characters was probably one of the causes of the feud.

[9] De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* p. 89; R. S. Poole, Art. *Money*, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. etc.

[1] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 477.

[2] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 22.

[3] 'There shall come a *star* out of Jacob,' etc. Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον (*stella*, Vulg.) ἐξ Ἰακὼβ κ. τ. λ. (Numb. xxiv. 17.) See Chapter IX. 'on the second revolt of the Jews,' for Barcochab, 'the son of the *star*.'

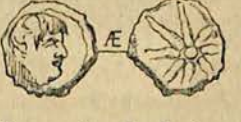
[4] The Talmud frequently names this king as ינאי המלך *Jannai Hammelek*, 'The King Jannæus.' (Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 59, *note* 2.) See p. 63, *note* 6.

[5] In the coin-cabinet of Marseilles there is the following remarkable coin. It was kindly communicated to Dr. Levy by M. le Comte de Vogüé.

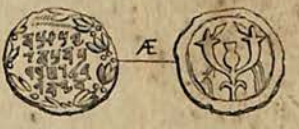
Obv. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Two cornua-copiæ tied together and poppy-head. *Rev.* No legend. A wreath. Æ. 3.

This coin shows how much the king must have deviated from the usual custom, to make use of Greek characters only.

The remarkable coin of which I here give a woodcut, is in the British Museum; no one, I think, can deny that it is a Jewish coin, notwithstanding that it bears a portrait. But to whom shall it be attributed? Mr. Poole has suggested to me that it should be given to Alexander Jannæus, and if so, it may have been struck during his quarrel with the Pharisees. The small coins, however, of the same



Second Coinage.



1. *Obv.* יונתנה
כהנחג
דלוחבר
היחד

i.e. [ים]יונתן הכהן הגדל וחבר היחד *Jonathan Hakkohen Haggadol Vecheber Hajehudim*, "Jonathan the High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews," written within a wreath of laurel or olive.

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ and a poppy-head. (De Saulcy, pl. II. no. 5.)[6] Æ. 3.

2. *Obv.* יהו
נתנהכ
הנהגדל
וחברה
יחד

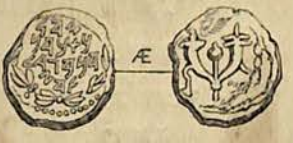
i.e. [ים]יהונתן הכהן הגדל וחבר היחד *Jehonathan Hakkohen*

size and fabric, and with the same style of star are now attributed to Alexander II. (See under Alexander II. p. 75.) Is this coin then the first attempt of coinage of Alexander II. after his escape from Rome, or do all these small coins really belong to Alexander Jannæus? It is to be regretted that no legend is visible on the coin, though Mr. Poole wishes to see on the obverse either a final *Nun*, similar to the *Nun* on the coins of Alexander Jannæus, or else the Greek letters HPΩ! There is only one other Jewish coin on which a portrait is represented, and it is attributed to Agrippa II. (Chap. V. *Sect.* G.)

[6] Coins with less complete and sometimes incorrect legends are given by De Saulcy (pl. II. nos. 3, 4, 6). No. 3 reads חכהן הגדל חבב חנ ינתן; no. 4 has at the end יח for וחבר; and no. 6 apparently וחבב.

Haggadol Vecheber Hajehudim. "Jehonathan the High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews," within a wreath.

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ and poppy-head. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; cf. De Saulcy, pl. II. no. 11.) Æ. 3.



3. *Obv.*

יהו
נתנהכ
הנהגדל
וחי

i.e. יהונתן הכהן הגדל וחי[חדים] *Jehonathan Hakkohen Haggadol Vehajehudim.* "Jehonathan the High-Priest and the Jews," within a wreath.

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ and poppy-head. (De Saulcy, pl. II. no. 10.)[7] Æ. 3.

These last three coins were struck after the reconciliation of the king with the Pharisees, as he abandons the regal title and recurs to the sacerdotal, already used upon his father's coins. No. 3 shows an even greater concession on the part of Alexander Jannæus, inasmuch as he couples his name with the 'Jews' in general, and leaves out the word וחבר 'Confederation.'[8]

E. ALEXANDRA.

B.C. 78—B.C. 69.

Alexander Jannæus, upon his death-bed, counselled

[7] Coins with variations of this legend are engraved by De Saulcy, pl. II. nos. 11-14.

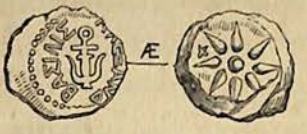
[8] On a coin of King Alexander, in the possession of Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 21, *note* 13), bearing the types of the star and anchor, this numismatist wishes to read L. S. (year 6). Unfortunately no representation of the coin is given.

his wife Alexandra[9] to place a share of her authority in the hands of the Pharisees. Acting upon this suggestion she spoke to the Pharisees, and succeeded so well, that the same men, who during the entire life of the defunct king had pursued him with an implacable hatred, honoured his memory with the highest veneration, and decreed to him a funeral more splendid than any of the kings before him. Her first act was to make her eldest and weakest son Hyrcanus II., High-Priest, but the younger, Aristobulus II. who was an active and a bold man, she kept back from public affairs. She consistently left the management of the government to the Pharisees, who, abusing the power bestowed upon them, put to death or threw into prison many of their former enemies.

In B. C. 70, Alexandra fell ill, and Aristobulus II. resolved to attempt to seize the government. In a short time he made himself master of several important towns. The Pharisees, frightened, denounced to the dying queen what had taken place, but Alexandra, who had no more energy to undertake the government, named Hyrcanus II. her heir, leaving the Pharisees to carry into effect whatever they thought proper. She died in B.C. 69, after having reigned nine years.

[9] Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, must not be confounded with Salome (who was also called Alexandra), the wife of Judas Aristobulus. Upon the latter's death Salome released his brothers, who had been confined in prison, and advanced Alexander Jannæus to the throne. Those who suppose that Salome Alexandra and Alexandra are the same, and that Alexander Jannæus married his brother's wife to raise up seed to his brother, according to the Jewish law, forget that Hyrcanus II., son of Alexander Jannæus and Alexandra, was past eighty when he died in B.C. 30, and therefore must have been born several years before the death of Judas Aristobulus. (Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* s. v. *Salome.*) Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, is thus unknown, except from her history in Josephus and from her coins.

Of the reign of Alexandra there is only one coin extant, which was first published by De Saulcy.[1]



Obv. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ. written round an anchor.

Rev. A star with eight rays. In the intermediate spaces are the traces of a Hebrew legend, of which only a ת (*Tau*) is discernible. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) Æ. 3.

In the engraving given by De Saulcy these traces are not visible, but on examining the coin there appears to have been some legend, and the suggestion of De Saulcy may not be far from wrong. The ת (*Tau*) may probably belong to a word מלכת (*Meleketh*) *Queen*,[2] or to the Chaldæan form of this title, מלכתא.[3]

F. Hyrcanus II.

B.C. 69—B.C. 65.

On the death of Alexandra, Hyrcanus II. immediately took possession of the throne, but his brother Aristobulus raised an army, and attacking him near Jericho, defeated him, and compelled him to flee for refuge to the citadel of Jerusalem. There Hyrcanus was obliged to sue for peace, and resigning the government into the hands of his brother, retired into private life.

G. Aristobulus II. and Alexander II.

B.C. 65—B.C. 49.

The peace that had been founded between the two brothers was only too soon destroyed. The Idumæan Antipater, father of Herod I., wishing to acquire the friend-

[1] *Num. Jud.* pl. IV. no. 13.
[2] Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 61.
[3] Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 23.

ship of the weak-minded Hyrcanus II., persuaded him that his brother intended to put him to death, and ultimately induced him to fly from Jerusalem, and take refuge with Aretas, the king of Nabathæa. Aretas in consequence invaded Judæa. Aristobulus was defeated and besieged in Jerusalem, and the city would doubtless have been taken had not Scaurus and Gabinius, Pompey's lieutenants, whose assistance Aristobulus had purchased, arrived at the scene of action and compelled Aretas to raise the siege.[4] In B.C. 63 Pompey himself arrived in Judæa, and the rival brothers laid their claims before him. Pompey declared in favour of Hyrcanus; for he saw, in this weak prince, the surest means of sooner or later getting possession of Judæa for the Romans. Aristobulus refused to abide by this decision, and was besieged by Pompey in Jerusalem. The city was taken, and Aristobulus and his sons, Alexander II. and Antigonus, were carried away to Rome.[5] After this victory Hyrcanus was reinstated in

[4] In B.C. 64 Aretas submitted to Pompey for a time, but after Pompey's departure from Asia, Scaurus invaded Arabia Petræa, but withdrew on Aretas paying 300 talents (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 5, 1). This event is commemorated on a coin (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.* pl. I. *Æmilia*, 1). The name of Aretas was inscribed upon the tablet of kings conquered by Pompey (Appian. *Bell. Mith.* 117).

[5] The Duc de Luynes (*Rev. Num.* 1858, p. 384) has suggested that this Aristobulus, son of Alexander Jannæus, who was brought to Rome and compelled by Pompey to follow his triumphal car (Appian. *Bell. Mith.* 117), is no other than the *Bacchius Judæus* represented on a coin of the family *Plautia* (Cohen, *Méd. Cons.* pl. xxxiii. *Plautia*, 6). Upon the obverse of this coin he wishes to recognise the head of the town of Jerusalem personified, and not that of Cybele, and on the reverse the conquered Aristobulus delivering himself up to Pompey. Besides, *Bacchius the Jew* on this coin wears the pointed tiara of a Jewish high-priest, and his name in Hebrew could not but be בקי *Bucchi* (βακχίρ, LXX. *Numb.* xxxiv. 22), or בקהו *Bucchiahu* (βοκκί, LXX. 1 *Chron.* vi. 5), of which the Romans would thus have made *Bacchius*. Cavedoni thought that Bacchius was the name of Silas, tyrant of Lysias, which was a small town taken by Pompey in his victorious march from Damascus to

the nominal sovereignty and High-Priesthood, having Antipater the Idumæan placed over him, to watch the interest of the Romans. In B.C. 57 Aristobulus and his son Alexander made their escape from Rome. The former was re-captured whilst entering the fortifications of Machærus, and was sent back to Rome by Gabinius. Alexander fortified several strong towns, but Gabinius, who came to the assistance of Hyrcanus and Antipater, defeated him with great loss near Jerusalem, and it was only through the intercession of his mother that he obtained his freedom. Gabinius then divided Judæa into five parts, and appointed five councils, one at Jerusalem, one at Gadara, one at Amathus, one at Jericho, and one at Sepphoris. The monarchic authority was thus abolished, and the Jews governed by an aristocracy. Another attempt of Alexander during the absence of Gabinius was again frustrated. In B.C. 49 Julius Cæsar set Aristobulus and Alexander at liberty, in order that they might recover back the throne of their fathers; but Aristobulus was poisoned by some of Pompey's friends, and Alexander was seized by order of Pompey, and beheaded at Antioch.

Of Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II. there are at present no coins known, and the numerous vicissitudes of this period may perhaps partly explain the reason. Further excavations will probably fill up the many voids that now exist.

The small bronze coins, ascribed by De Saulcy[6] to Alexander Jannæus, are now attributed to Alexander II.

Jerusalem (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 3, 2). He does not however hold with this opinion now, and says, "it is clear that it is the Greek name βακχεῖος, and this name is not connected with any Hebrew form of the period." (*Rev. Num.* 1863, p. 205.) The name βακχεῖος was borne by the uncle of St. Justin (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 12), by an author of a musical treatise (Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* ii. p. 260), and by a commentator on the writings of Hippocrates (Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* s. vv.).

[6] *Num. Jud.* pl. IV. 2—12.

1. *Obv.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ written round an anchor.

Rev. A star inside a beaded circle, with eight rays: between the rays, traces of letters, but whether Hebrew or not it is difficult to say. (De Saulcy, pl. IV. nos. 11, 12.) Æ. 3.

2. *Obv.* ΒΑCΙΛΕΥΣ within a beaded circle.

Rev. An anchor within a wreath, or within a circle. (De Saulcy, pl. IV. nos. 9, 10.)

The fabric, style, and difference of weight, make it probable that they do not belong to Alexander Jannæus.[7]

H. Hyrcanus II. re-established.

B.C. 47—B.C. 40.

Hyrcanus, on his restoration, was ruler[8] only in name. Antipater possessed the real authority, and gave to his two sons, Phasael and Herod, the governments of Jerusalem and of Galilee. On account of some severities committed by Herod in his government, he was summoned by Hyrcanus before the Sanhedrim, but he appeared before them armed, and bearing in his hand a letter from Sextus Cæsar for his acquittal. The feebleness of the character of Hyrcanus is shown in his consenting to the death of Antipater, who was poisoned by a certain Malichus, and then in the death of Malichus, at the request of Herod. In B.C. 40, on the invasion of Syria by Antigonus, aided

[7] Cavedòni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 22, *note :* Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 64; but see p. 68, *note* 5.

[8] He was appointed high-priest and *ethnarch*. (See p. 38, *note* 4.)

by Pacorus the king of Parthia, Hyrcanus and Phasael fell into the hands of Antigonus. Hyrcanus had his ears cut off, in order to incapacitate him for ever from holding the High-Priesthood,[9] and was sent to prison at Seleucia in Babylon, where he remained till released by the Parthian king Phraates IV. (Arsaces XV.) He was put to death by Herod, in B.C. 30, on the pretext of having held treasonable correspondence with Malchus king of Arabia.

There are at present no coins known struck during the restoration of Hyrcanus II.

I. ANTIGONUS.

B.C. 40—B.C. 37.

Antigonus was the younger son of Aristobulus II., and was with his father and his elder brother Alexander II. carried to Rome by Pompey as prisoner. In B.C. 57 he escaped with his father, who found numerous followers among his countrymen. The war was again renewed, and Antigonus and his father were again taken at Machærus, and sent back to Rome. After the death of his father, who had been poisoned by the party of Pompey, Antigonus attempted, with the aid of the Parthians, whom he had won over by presents and promises, to seize Judæa. He found everywhere ready support. Jerusalem was taken, and Herod was forced to flee to Rome. Antigonus was at last restored to the throne by the Parthians in B.C. 40. Herod, who had obtained, through the influence of Antony, the title of King of Judæa, now marched against Antigonus. After a long siege Jerusalem was taken, with the assistance of the Roman general Sosius, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Herod could save from pillage the greater part of his capital. Antigonus gave himself up to Sosius, who sent him chained to Antony.

[9] Levit. xxi. 16—24.

Antigonus was conveyed to Antioch, where, having been previously beaten, he was ignominiously executed with the axe (B.C. 37), a mode of treatment the Romans had never before used to a king.[1]

Obv. ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ written round a wreath.

Rev. מתתיה הכהן ה[גדל וחבר ה]יהודי[ם] *Matthathiah Hakkohen Hag[gadol Vecheber Ha]jehudim.* "Matthathias the High-Priest and the Confederation of the Jews." Two cornua-copiæ. (Cf. *Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 284, *note;* also De Saulcy, pl. V. no. 2.) Æ. 5.

The reverse legend of this coin is given according to the correction of De Vogüé,[2] who has compared the five examples in the French cabinet. The obverse type is similar to that given in De Saulcy.[3] Levy says, "that this is the meaning of the Hebrew inscription appears from the whole of the eight specimens, engraved by De Saulcy. Some of them may have one or other of the letters more clearly defined, but many of them display a very degenerate form."[4] The reverse legend is placed in a very remarkable manner; it commences at the bottom of the *left* side under the cornua-copiæ, then at the second *He* turns between the two cornua-copiæ, turns round again at the bottom of the *right* side under the cornua-copiæ,

[1] Dion. Cass. lxix. 22; Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 1, 2.

[2] *Rev. Num.* 1860. p. 284, *note.*

[3] *Num. Jud.* pl. V. no. 1.

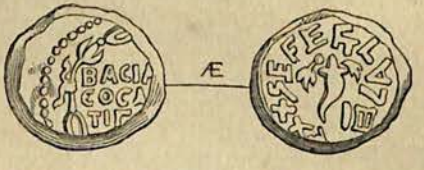
[4] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 66.

and finally ends at the top of the coin after having formed a kind of ∞ (8).

We thus learn, as was already long ago suggested by Barthélemy,[5] and since adopted by De Saulcy,[6] that Matthathias is the Jewish name of Antigonus, recalling the name of the ancestor of the Asmonæan family. The coins of Antigonus differ very considerably from those of his predecessors,[7] and Cavedoni[8] suggests that they bear great resemblance to those of the Parthian kings. This is very probable, seeing that Antigonus obtained his throne by the aid of the Parthians.[9]

The Rev. H. C. Reichardt has recently published[1] a coin from his collection, said to have on the reverse the remnants of a legend (חבר חי *Cheber Hai*), and between the two cornua-copiæ שב, *i.e.* year 2. I have seen the cast of this coin, but I confess that I cannot decipher what really the letters may be; nor can others, to whom I have shown the cast, venture to say that they see the letters שב.

Some specimens of the coins of Antigonus have only a *single* cornu-copiæ.



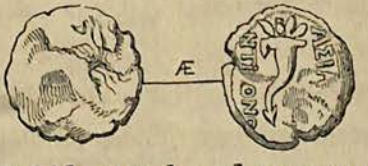
Obv. BACIΛEOC A.TIΓ. within a wreath.

Rev. [?וח]תתיה כהן גדל[מ] *Mattathias Kohen Gadol.* "Mattathias High-Priest." Cornu-copiæ; on either side a leaf. (De Saulcy, pl. V. no. 6.) Æ. 4.

5 Eckhel, *Doct. Num.* Vet. vol. iii. p. 481.
6 *Num. Jud.* p. 111.
7 De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* p. 110.
8 *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 25.
9 Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13.
1 *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 270.

The single cornu-copiæ most probably denotes half of the value of those which have the double cornu-copiæ. The latter weigh, according to De Saulcy,[2] 14·2 grammes (209 grains) and under, the former 7·7 grammes (118 grs.) to 7 grammes (108 grs.). Levy[3] suggests that the piece weighing 10·7 grammes (165 grs.) is a three-quarter piece.

The following coin is in the collection of the Rev. Churchill Babington, and was recently published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.[4]



Obv. Wreath? (side-struck and very much obliterated). No legend visible.

Rev. [B]ΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ Α]ΝΤΙ[Γ]ΟΝΟ[Υ] in two straight lines; between them a single cornu-copiæ. Æ. 3¼.

This coin is remarkable as being the only specimen yet described which has a Greek inscription on the same side as the cornu-copiæ. Whether there was a Hebrew inscription on the obverse it is impossible to say. It is apparently the smallest coin of Antigonus yet discovered.

With these coins the series of the Asmonæan dynasty concludes.

[2] *Num. Jud.* pp. 111, 112.

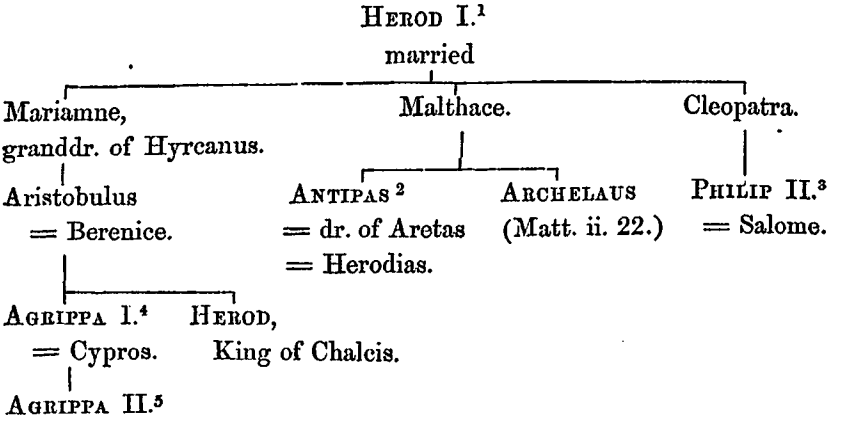
[3] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 66, *note* 4. The coins of Antigonus in the British Museum, and in Mr. Wigan's collection, weigh 227 grs., 192 grs. and 183 grs. (with two cornua-copiæ), and 119 grs., 115 grs. (with the single cornu-copiæ.)

[4] N. S. vol. ii. p. 64; pl. II. no. 1.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

SHOWING THOSE OF THE

HERODIAN FAMILY OF WHOM THERE ARE COINS.



[1] Herod the King (Matt. ii. 1; Luke i. 5).

[2] Herod the Tetrarch (Matt. xiv. 1, 3; Luke iii. 1, 19; ix. 7); the King (Matt. xiv. 9); King Herod (Mark vi. 14).

[3] Philip [II.] the Tetrarch (Luke iii. 1).

[4] Herod the King (Acts xii.).

[5] King Agrippa (Acts xxv. 13; xxvi. 2 *seq.*).

CHAPTER V.

COINS OF THE IDUMÆAN PRINCES.

A. HEROD I. SURNAMED THE GREAT.

B.C. 37—B.C. 4.

IMMEDIATELY on ascending the throne, after the death of Antigonus, Herod put to death all the members of the Sanhedrim, excepting Pollio and Sameas. The aged Hyrcanus, his wife Mariamne, to whom he was passionately attached, and many other members of his family were also put to death; and the High-Priesthood was given to an ignorant and obscure man from Babylon, named Ananel. Though Herod did not win the love of his subjects by his acts at home, he greatly improved his dominions. Yet this was done more with the idea of pleasing Rome than of pleasing his subjects. The beautiful Temple, commenced in the eighteenth year of his reign (B.C. 20), failed to gratify the people. On his deathbed he ordered that some of the principal Jews, whom he had shut up in the Hippodrome at Jericho, should be put to death after his decease, that mourners might not be wanting at his funeral. About the same time he ordered the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem.[6] Thus exasperated by endless atrocities the people would have openly revolted, had not Herod died, aged 69, in the year B.C. 4.[7]

[6] Matt. ii. 16.

[7] Upon the death of Herod, a man named Simon put a diadem on his own head, and declared himself King. He was soon killed by Gratus (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 10, 6; Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). Upon his death another, one Athronges, set himself up for King, but was eventually defeated and killed by the Romans. (Joseph. *l. c.*)

From the large extent of Herod's dominions, and the immense wealth that he bequeathed to his kindred and to strangers, we should naturally expect to find a very numerous and fine coinage. Though Josephus says that he left to his sister Salome five hundred thousand [pieces] of *silver that was coined* (*ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου*), and to Cæsar, besides vessels of gold and silver, ten millions of *coined silver*, and to others five millions,[8] yet from numismatic evidence we must conclude that the coinage of gold was interdicted in all countries subject to the Romans, and that the permission to strike silver was only granted to some of the most important cities, as Alexandria, Antioch of Syria, Cæsarea of Cappadocia, Tarsus, &c.[9] Pompey had already forbidden a silver coinage to be struck in most of the Phœnician mints, only a *copper currency* was to be employed.[1] So in Judæa we find a *copper coinage* only from the time of the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, excepting in the time of the two revolts, when the Jews again struck *silver coins* for a short time. All the copper coins struck by Herod I. had *Greek* inscriptions only, and no Hebrew. Their types, for the most part, present symbols connected with the service of God, or are borrowed from some of the Asmonæan coins, for all images of living creatures were forbidden by the Jews.[2] There are no coins with the title *Great*

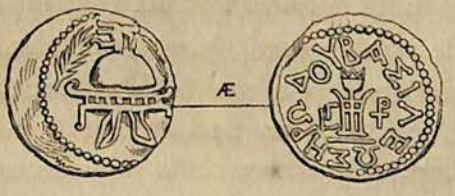
[8] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8, 1. According to Zonaras (*Annal. L. V.* c. 16) Herod coined gold and silver money from the silver and gold he cut off the rich furniture, and from the vessels, which he took to assist the people suffering by famine in Judæa and Syria. Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 9, 2) relates about his cutting the gold and silver off, but leaves out the words *εἰς νόμισμα*, which are inserted by Zonaras. The silver money left by Herod must have been in *denarii*, and probably there is much exaggeration in the account of Josephus.

[9] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. lxxi.

[1] Mommsen, *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*, pp. 36 and 717.

[2] For this reason Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 30 *seq.*) and Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 82), contrary to the opinion of De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.*

belonging to Herod I., though Ewald has supposed that the origin of this surname may have been derived from the coins, and is only intended to mean *elder*, to distinguish him from the younger Herod (Antipas).[3]



1. *Obv.* A vessel with a bell-shaped cover and stand; in *field* to left a palm?-branch.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ, a tripod, in the *field* to left L. Γ (year 3.) and in *field* to right the monogram ⅄ (De Saulcy, pl. VI. no 1.) Æ. 6.

2. *Obv.* The same vessel: above, a star: on either side a palm?-branch.

Rev. The same as no. 1. (De Saulcy, pl. VI. no. 2.) Æ. 6.

The object represented on the obverse of these coins has been generally considered to be a helmet with cheek-pieces,[4] but Levy[5] follows the opinion of Cavedoni,[6] who

p. 131; pl. VI. nos. 10, 11, 12), think that the coins with the representation of an eagle, belong rather to Herod of Chalcis, than to Herod the Great. (See later, *Sect.* F.)

[3] Ewald, *Geschichte*, vi. p. 473; Kitto's *Bibl. Cyc.* 3rd ed. article *Herodian Family*.

[4] Akerman, *Num. Ill. of New Testament*, p. 3; *Num. Chron.* vol. viii. p. 135; De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* p. 127.

[5] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 70, and *note*. [6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 27.

though previously inclined to regard the object as a *galea cristata*, says now that the *upper part* of the object is severed from the *lower*, and the cheeks are not in the right place, and that, therefore, a vessel with a bell-shaped cover seems a better description. They are, however, unable to determine what vessel is intended. On the reverse is a tripod, on which Levy[7] sees a vase, whilst Akerman[8] describes it as an altar, with a flame coming out of it. The occurrence of a tripod on the coins of Herod illustrates his paganising spirit, as he probably adopted it from the coins of the Seleucidæ, where there no doubt is a connection of the tripod with the worship of Apollo.[9] Cavedoni[1] thinks that the object on the reverse is the censer,[2] which the Priest carried once a year on the solemn day of atonement into the Holy of Holies, especially as Herod, with the help of the Romans, conquered Jerusalem on the very day of atonement, and the star on the top of the obverse (no. 2) may also refer to this successful event. The two palm?-branches on each side of the star allude probably to Herod's victory, or, as Cavedoni supposes, to the "two olive trees" of the prophet Zechariah's vision.[3]

The year three has been referred by Eckhel[4] to the year of Rome 718 (B.C. 36), counting from the time that Herod established himself in power by the taking of Jerusalem, and by De Saulcy[5] to B.C. 37, but it seems more probable that the years on his coins count from the time when he received the title of 'King of Judæa' from the Romans in

7 *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 70.

8 *Num. Ill. of New Testament*, p. 3; *Num. Chron.* vol. viii. p. 135.

9 Rev. C. H. Babington, *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 66.

1 *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 27.

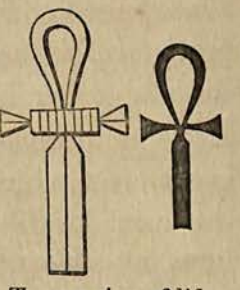
2 Πυρεῖον. *Thuribulum*, Levit. xvi. 12.

3 Zech. iv. 2, 3, 12.

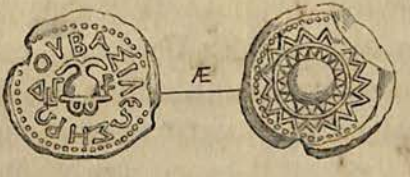
4 *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 486.

5 *Num. Jud.* p. 128.

714 (B.C. 40), and in this case his *third year* would be 716 (B.C. 38). Cavedoni[6] says that the monogram ☥ is the *crux ansata*, employed not only on Egyptian but also on Assyrian monuments, as the sign of life, and in support of his suggestion quotes the opinion of M. Raoul-Rochette.[8] De Saulcy,[9] however, is strongly opposed to this explanation, and prefers seeing only a monogram composed of T and P, suggesting that it may be a mark of value and a contraction for ΤΡιᾶς or rather ΤΡίχαλκον.



Tau, or sign of life.



3. *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛЄΩΣ[10] ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. A helmet with cheek pieces. In *field* to the left L. Γ (year 3 = B.C. 38?); in *field* to right the monogram ☥.

Rev. The Macedonian shield. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VI. no. 3.) Æ. 4.

This coin, and the following one (no. 4), according to

[6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 50; vol. ii. p. 27.

[7] From Wilkinson's *Popular account of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 277. Sir G. Wilkinson (*l. c.*) says, "The origin of the *tau* I cannot precisely determine, but this curious fact is connected with it in later times—that the early Christians of Egypt adopted it in lieu of the cross, which was afterwards substituted for it, prefixing it to inscriptions in the same manner as the cross in later times; and numerous inscriptions headed by the *tau* are preserved to the present day in early Christian sepulchres at the Great Oasis."

[8] *Hercule Assyr.* 385.

[9] *Num. Jud.* p. 128; *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 291; *Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Franc.* 1855, p. 74.

[10] The specimen of this coin in the collection of the Rev. Churchill Babington has ΒΑΓΙΛΕΩΓ (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 65).

Cavedoni,[1] give Herod I. a claim to descent from the Macedonian kings, as the emblems of the helmet and Macedonian shield are found on the small bronze coins of Antigonus Gonatas, and of his son Demetrius II., Philip V., and other Macedonian kings, but not on those of Pyrrhus, although he twice possessed this kingdom. The great crest which ornaments the Macedonian helmet on the coins of Herod I., and especially on those of Archelaus, is seen on the head of Philip V., king of Macedon, on a *denarius* of Quintus Marcius Philippus,[2] probably with reference to the helmet of Alexander the Great, which was always distinguished by a tail and two very large white feathers, which fell sideways.[3] It is right to add that De Saulcy thinks Cavedoni's conjecture about Herod's Macedonian descent a little too hazardous, and asks, "n'est ce pas user trop largement du droit d'interpreter les types des monnaies antiques?"[4] It may be added that the name of Antigonus, the Asmonæan, shows Macedonizing tendencies.

4. *Obv.* The Macedonian shield.

Rev. A helmet with cheek pieces; in *field* to right and left of helmet, ЄI (year 15). Æ. 5.

This piece is given by Akerman[5] from Mionnet[6] or Eckhel.[7] Cavedoni[8] also mentions it, and says that the date is that when Herod began to build the Temple. This accords with one passage in Josephus,[9] but in another passage Josephus[10] says the Temple was commenced in the eighteenth year, which corresponds to

[1] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 28.

[2] Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, pl. xxvi. 4, 5.

[3] Καὶ τοῦ κράνους τῇ χαίτῃ διαπρεπὴς ἧς ἑκατέρωθεν εἱστήκει πτέρον λευκότητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστὸν. Plutarch. *in Alex.* 16.

[4] *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 291.

[5] *Num. Ill. of New Testament*, p. 3; *Num. Chron.* vol. viii. p. 135.

[6] Vol. v. p. 565.

[7] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 486.

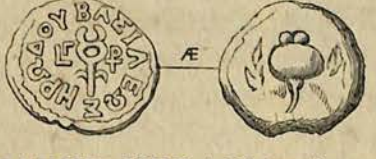
[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 56.

[9] *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 1.

[10] *Antiq.* xv. 11, 1.

B.C. 20, and appears to be the correct date. Cavedoni[1] in his second volume writes, "it is doubtful whether the two letters ЄI, which are divided by the helmet, do not rather mean *anno* X, instead of *anno* XV, if the interpretation Є*τους* I be accepted, especially as in the coins of Herod the small number usually follows the larger. The tenth year of Herod would correspond to B.C. 31, the year in which the battle of Actium was fought and probably while Herod sided with Mark Antony.[2]"

It is, however, far more probable that the coin has been misread, and that the letters EI should be read TP (*τρίχαλκον*). Indeed, De Saulcy says that he possesses one of these coins on which is the monogram TP.[3] I have examined the coin in the collection of Mr. Wigan, and through the kindness of the Rev. Churchill Babington, I have seen an impression of a specimen in his collection, and on both of these there is certainly ⊈ (= TP). This being the case, a specimen with ΔI (*δίχαλκον*) remains still to be found. I cannot doubt but that there is evidently some connection between the larger coins and the smaller ones; but the copper series rarely offers any certainty when a system of weights is applied to it.[4] In any case I am inclined to think that the suggestion of De Saulcy is preferable to that of Cavedoni.[5]



5. *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ written round a winged

[1] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 29.

[2] Considering that on Mr. Wigan's coin may be seen the date L.Γ. (see p. 85), this suggestion of Cavedoni's is not of much value. The coin has never been before published with this date.

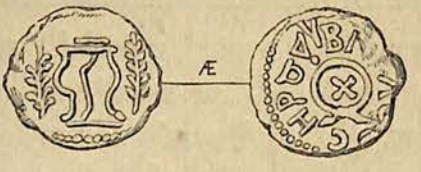
[3] *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 291.

[4] See chapter on "Weights."

[5] See p. 85.

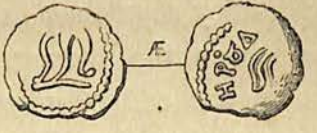
caduceus. In *field* to left L.Γ. (year 3 = B.C 38?) In *field* to right the monogram ☩.

Rev. A pomegranate with leaves? (British Museum). Æ. 4.



6. [6] *Obv.* A rude tripod: on each side a palm-branch.

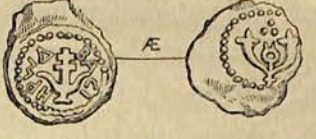
Rev. HPϢΔ.Y BA[CI]ΛEΩC (the last four letters indistinct.) A rude helmet? (Front view.) Æ. 4.



7. *Obv.* Rude tripod.

Rev. HPϢΔ[OY BACIΛEΩC.] A rude helmet. Æ. 4.

The object on the reverse of nos. 6 and 7, we rather take to be a wreath, formed very like an Ω, in the middle of which is the letter X, the initial letter of Χαλκοῦς, as has already been suggested by De Saulcy.[7]



8. *Obv.* BACI HPϢΔ, written round an anchor.

Rev. Two cornua-copiæ tied together at the ends, and the

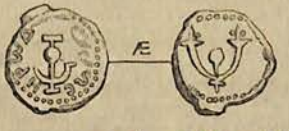
[6] Nos. 6 and 7 are in the collection of the Rev. C. Babington, and are published by him in the *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 65. Examples are also in the collection of E. Wigan, Esq., and were published as long ago as 1855 by M. De Saulcy in the *Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Franc.* p. 74.

[7] *Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Franc. l. c.* Cavedoni is not at all contented with the opinion given of X and ☩, and in his last remarks on Jewish coins says that the former sign is the mystical Hebrew *Tau*, and adheres to his former opinion, that the latter is the *crux ansata.* (*Nuovi studi sopra le Mon. Ant. Giud.* p. 19. Cf. *Rev. Num.* 1862, p. 304.)

poppy-head (De Saulcy, Levy), or two cornua-copiæ, and a *caduceus* crossed saltier-wise. (Cavedoni, Akerman.)[8] Æ. 3.

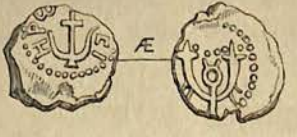
The type of the anchor occurs on the coins of Alexander Jannæus,[9] Alexandra, and Alexander II. and may probably refer in this case to the maritime city of Cæsarea, built by Herod I. at the place formerly called Strato's Tower. It may also symbolize generally his extensive improvements to several maritime cities.[1] The type of the double cornu-copiæ occurs upon coins of John Hyrcanus,[2] Judas Aristobulus, Alexander Jannæus and Antigonus.

The following coins (9—14) are rather smaller :—



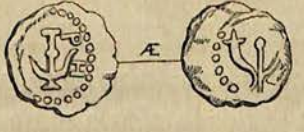
9. *Obv.* HPѠΔ . . . . . ΩC (HPѠΔOY BACIΛEΩC), written round an anchor.

Rev. The same as no. 8. (De Saulcy, pl. VI. no. 7.) Æ. 3.



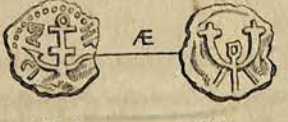
10. *Obv.* HPѠ [BA]ΓI, round an anchor.

Rev. The same as no. 6, (De Saulcy, pl. VI. no. 6.) Æ. 3.



11. *Obv.* HP (HPѠΔOY), in *field* to right of anchor.

Rev. The same as no. 8. (De Saulcy, pl. VI. no. 8.) Æ. 3.



12. *Obv.* HP BACI (retrograde), round an anchor.

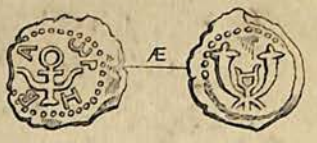
Rev. Same as no. 8. (De Saulcy, pl. XX. no. 9.) Æ. 3.

[8] De Saulcy, pl. VI. 5, 6; XX. 6, 7, 10.

[9] See p. 66 *seq.*

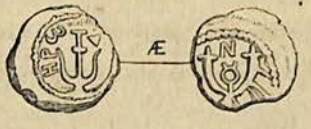
[1] Joseph, *Antiq.* xv. 9, 6.

[2] See p. 54 *seq.*



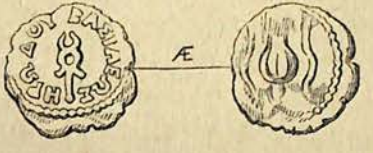
13. *Obv.* HPѠ. BA (HPѠΔOY BACIΛEΩC), round an anchor.

Rev. The same as no. 8. (De Saulcy, pl. VI. no. 9.) Æ. 3.



14. *Obv.* HPѠΔ written round an anchor.

Rev. The same as no. 8. Above the cornua-copiæ the letter N. (De Saulcy, pl. XX. no. 8.) Æ. 3.



15.[3] *Obv.* BAΣIΛEΩΣ HPΩΔOY. A *caduceus.*

Rev. A pitcher and palm-branch?[4] Æ. 4.

16. *Obv.* . . . . . ΩΣ . HPΩΔOY. An *acrostolium.*

Rev. Type not quite clear. Æ. 3.

17. *Obv.* BAΣIΛEΩΣ HPΩΔOY, written round a garland; within the garland the monogram ⅋.

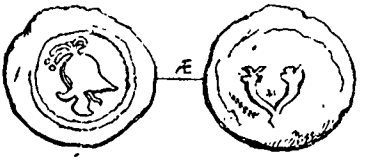
Rev. A helmet: on each side a palm-branch. Æ. 4.

18. *Obv.* HϘѠ (*sic*) . . written in the *field.*

Rev. A helmet. Æ. 3½.

[3] This and the three following coins are published by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Geselschaft*, 1857, pp. 155, 156, and in the *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 271; pl. VI. 4. Of the last three I cannot give the engravings, as I have never seen them, and they are only described.

[4] This coin may be the same as the one described above and engraved (no. 5), though a bad specimen of it.



19. *Obv.* No legend. Helmet to the right.

Rev. No legend. Two cornua-copiæ. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VI. no. 4.) Æ. 4.

De Saulcy[5] is rather doubtful if this coin is really Jewish or not, but the types of the helmet and two cornua-copiæ make it more than probable that it belongs to Herod I.

B. Herod Archelaus.

B.C. 4.—A.D. 6.

Herod Archelaus, the son of Herod I. and Malthace, had, by a first will, been disinherited; but in the final arrangement he was left the 'kingdom' which had previously been assigned to his elder brother Antipas. Archelaus would not accept the title of 'king,' though saluted as such by the army, until that title should be confirmed by Augustus. He therefore set out for Rome, and was appointed by Augustus *Ethnarch*[6] (or Ruler of the nation), and Judæa, Samaria, Idumæa, and several cities were apportioned to him, with a promise that, if he reigned virtuously, the title of King might be conferred upon him.[7] He, however, following in the steps of his father, committing many cruel deeds, and violating the

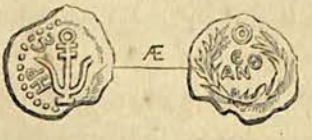
[5] *Num. Jud.* p. 129.

[6] See p. 38, *note.*

[7] The verb βασιλεύει is used in St. Matthew (ii. 22). Antipas, who was only *tetrarch,* is called ὁ βασιλεύς (Matt. xiv. 9; Mark vi. 14); and the *tetrarchy* of Lysanias is called by Josephus βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου. (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 11, 5.) [See *note* on p. 97.]

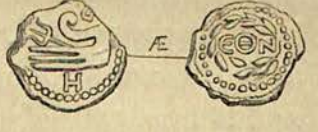
Jewish laws, caused the Jews to complain loudly of his tyranny. Augustus at last paid attention to their frequent murmurs, and Archelaus was summoned to Rome, and (A.D. 6) banished to Vienna, in Gaul, where he died. His dominions were confiscated, and attached to the Roman Empire, to be administered by Procurators.[8]

Archelaus is called by Dion Cassius[1] Ἡρώδης Παλαιστηνός, a proof that he also bore the name of 'Herod' in common with other members of the Herodian family, and as he is the only prince of Judæa who bore the title of *Ethnarch*, coins can be attributed to him with certainty.[2] He also styles himself only 'Herod' on the coins. The types are somewhat similar to those of his father, and of some of the Asmonæan princes.



1. *Obv.* HPW to the left of an anchor.

Rev. $\frac{\epsilon\Theta}{AN}$ (ЄΘNAPXOY) in an oak wreath, adorned with a gem. (De Saulcy, pl. VII. no. 1.) Æ. 3.



2. *Obv.* HP written round the prow of a ship; above, a trident.

[8] *Cf.* Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. ch. 8, 9, 11, 13; *Bell. Jud.* i. ch. 1; ii. ch. 2, 6, 7.

[1] Lib. lv. 57.

[2] Mr. Akerman was the first numismatist who restored the coins with the legend HPωΔOY EΘNAPXOY to Herod Archelaus (*Num. Ill. of New Test.* p. 4), though Dr. Kitto had already suggested, in 1841, the probability of coins with the title *ethnarch* belonging to Archelaus. (*Hist. of Palestine*, p. 716.)

Rev. ЄΘN within an olive wreath. (De Saulcy, pl. VII. 2.) Æ. 3.

3.[3] *Obv.* HP, a double cornu-copiæ.

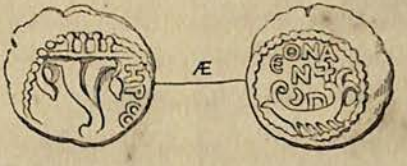
Rev. ЄΘN, a galley. Æ. 4.

4. *Obv.* HPW, a double cornu-copiæ.

ЄΘN

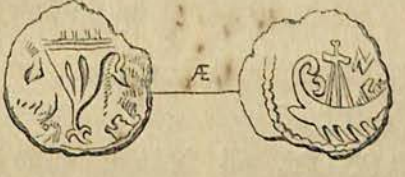
Rev. PA written above a galley, all within a garland.

X Æ. 2½.



5.[4] *Obv.* HPW, a double cornu-copiæ.

Rev. ЄΘNA. Galley of five oars, without mast, having on deck a tower (?) near the poop; in *field*, crescent (?), and two letters above (NX?). Æ. 4½.

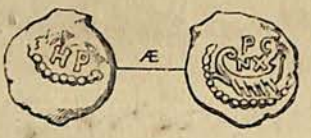


6. *Obv.* Legend illegible. A double cornu-copiæ.

Rev. Legend illegible. Galley of five oars, with mast and sail: near the poop in *field*, crescent and two letters above (NX?). Æ. 4½.

[3] Nos. 3 and 4 are in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, and published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. vol. ii. p. 271. He does not give any engravings of them.

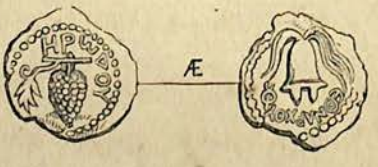
[4] Nos. 5 and 6 are in the collection of the Rev. Churchill Babington, and published by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. vol. ii. p. 66.



7. *Obv.* HP. Type unintelligible.

Rev. A galley and the letters PCNX in two lines. (British Museum.) Æ. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

The letters on these last three coins are quite unintelligible, and possibly not Greek at all. Cavedoni[5] suggests N with an *Aleph* on no. 5, and N and *Rosh* or *Tau* and X on no. 6. but gives no further explanation. The types of the reverses of these coins, as has already been noticed as regards the anchor,[6] bear reference to the sovereignty that Archelaus had over the seaport cities of Cæsarea, Sebaste, and Joppe, which were conferred upon him by Augustus, when the latter ratified the main points of Herod's will.[7]



8. *Obv.* HPѠΔOY. A bunch of grapes from which hangs a grape and leaf.

Rev. ЄΘNAPXOY. A helmet with tuft of feathers and cheek-pieces: in *field* to left a small *caduceus*. (De Saulcy, pl. VII. no. 7.) Æ. $3\frac{1}{2}$.

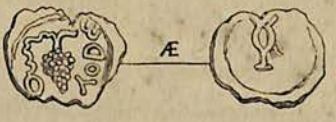
9. *Obv.* The same as no. 8.

[5] *Nuovi studi sopra le antiche Monete Giudaiche*, p. 20.

[6] Alexander Jannæus, p. 67; Herod I. p. 89.

[7] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11, 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6, 3.

Rev. ЄΘNPXOY (*sic*). The same type. (De Saulcy, pl. VII. no. 8.) Æ. 3½.



10. *Obv.* [HP]ѠΔOY. Bunch of grapes with part of the tendrils.

Rev. [ЄΘNAPXOY]. Unornamented *caduceus*. (*Cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VII. no. 5.)[8] Æ. 3.

The helmet[9] and *caduceus* seem to bear allusion to his Macedonian descent, which has also been remarked on some of the coins of Herod I.[1] Cavedoni[2] considers the *caduceus* to be a sign of Peace and Felicity.

C. Herod Antipas.

B.C. 4.—A.D. 39.

Herod Antipas was son of Herod the Great by Malthace, a Samaritan. Though 'the kingdom' had been originally

[8] This piece is given by Mionnet (vol. v. p. 564) from the Collection Chamillard. De Saulcy does not know what has become of it, and only gives an imperfect representation from a similar example in the collection of M. Ed. Delessert.

[9] Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 32, *note* 19) says that De Saulcy and others have represented the helmet right side up, and that in that case the inscription is upside down and on the top of the head. Perhaps the helmet is reversed to refer to the peaceful reign of Archelaus. But admitting this to be the case, "comment admettrait-on que les géniastères pussent se soutenir verticalement et comment le *lophos* (ou crinière) ne rétomberait-il pas dans l'autre sens?" (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 292.) Cavedoni's reply, that the cheek-pieces might be immoveable, and the *lophos* composed of some metal or material, does not seem to be an argument of much worth. (*Nuovi studi sopra le Mon. Giud.* p. 21.)

[1] See p. 86.

[2] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 58.

left to him, yet in the final arrangement of Herod's will, he was named 'Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa.'[3] He was first married to the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa, but while on a visit to his half-brother Philip I. he persuaded his wife Herodias to marry him, thus violating the Jewish law. Upon this Aretas invaded the dominions of Antipas and defeated him with great loss. His government appears to have been milder than that of his brother Archelaus, of whom Joseph was afraid, and 'turned aside into Galilee,'[4] though the Evangelists designate him as cruel, tyrannical, and unscrupulous.[5] He enlarged and adorned several places in his dominions, restoring Sepphoris and Betharamptha, and founded a city on the Lake of Gennesareth, which he called *Tiberias*, in honour of the Emperor Tiberius, with whom he was in great favour.[6] After the death of Tiberius in A.D. 38, and the accession of Caius, he was persuaded by Herodias to go to Rome to obtain the title of King.[7] His nephew, Agrippa I., who was much esteemed by Caius, opposed this request, and accused him of treacherous correspondence with the Parthians. He was consequently exiled to Lugdunum in Gaul (A.D. 39), and eventually died in Spain.[8] His wife Herodias voluntarily shared his exile, and his dominions were given to Agrippa I.

[3] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8, 1; Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 19; ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1: τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου, Luke iii. 1.

[4] Matt. ii. 22.

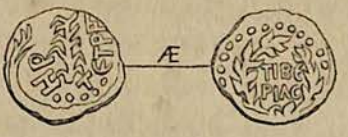
[5] Matt. xiv. 9; Luke iii. 19; xiii. 31. "Antipas put to death John the Baptist.

[6] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2, 3.

[7] Ὁ βασιλεύς, Matt. xiv. 9; ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, Mark vi. 14.

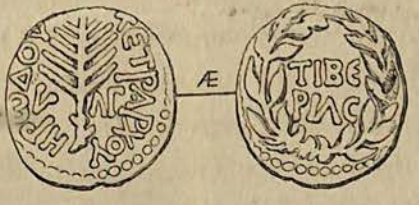
[8] "This town is probably Lugdunum Convenarum, a town of Gaul, situated on the right bank of the Garonne, at the foot of the Pyrenees, now *St. Bertrand de Comminges;* a town on the frontier like the above would satisfy both passages." E. S. Ffoulkes, art. *Herodias*, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 796, *note.*

Coins of Herod Antipas bear the title *Tetrarch*.[9]



1. *Obv.* HP. TETPA. (HPWΔOY TETPAPXOY.) Palm-branch.

Rev. TIBEPIAC, within a wreath. (*Bibliothèque, Paris.*) Æ. 3.

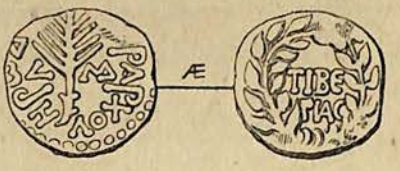


2. *Obv.* HPWΔOY TETPAPXOY. Palm-branch. In *field* L. AΓ (year 33).

Rev. TIBEPIAC in two lines within a wreath. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *Trésor*,[1] pl. LIX. no. 16.) Æ. 6.

[9] The title *Tetrarch* properly means the prince of a *fourth* part of a province. Thessaly was divided into four *tetrarchies*, each ruled by a tetrarch. (Strabo, ix. p. 430.) The title was conferred upon Antipas and Philip II. by Augustus, when confirming the will of Herod I. Archelaus had *half* (two fourths) of the kingdom, with the title *Ethnarch* (see *note*, p. 38), and Antipas and Philip the remaining *half*, divided into two *tetrarchies*. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 11, 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6, 3.) Both Antipas and Philip are called *Tetrarchs* in the New Testament (see Table at commencement of this chapter, p. 80). Lysanias (Luke iii. 1) was also a *tetrarch*, notwithstanding that Josephus in one passage calls his territory a kingdom (*βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσανίου*, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 11, 5; but see *Antiq.* xviii. 6, 10; xx. 7, 1; xix. 5. 1.) Herod I. was made *tetrarch* of Judæa, together with his brother Phasael by Antony. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 13, 1, *Bell. Jud.* i. 12, 5.)

[1] References to the *Trésor* are to the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique. Numismatique des Rois Grecs.*—Paris, 1849.

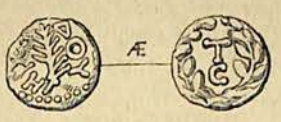


3. *Obv.* HPѠΔ[OY TЄT]PAPXOY. Palm-branch. In *field* L. ΛΔ (year 34).

Rev. Same as no 2. (*Trésor*, pl. LIX. 17.) Æ. 4.

4. [2]*Obv.* HPѠΔOY TЄTPAPXOY. Palm-branch. In *field* L. ΛZ (year 37).

Rev. TIBЄPIAΣ, in two lines within a wreath of bay. Æ. 2½.



5. *Obv.* HPѠΔOY. A palm-branch.

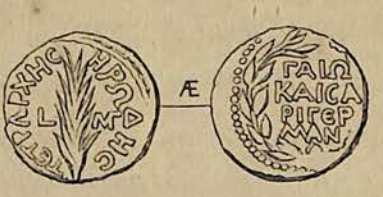
Rev. $\frac{T}{C}$ within a laurel wreath. Æ. 2.

These coins are struck at the city of *Tiberias*, which, as above stated, had been built by Antipas in honour of the Roman Emperor Tiberius. The plant on the obverse is supposed to be the *canna communis*, and to bear reference to the adjacent Lake of Gennesareth, or sea of Tiberias.[3] The years 33, 34 and 37 of his reign correspond to A.D. 29, A.D. 30, and A.D. 33. On number 5 the title *Tetrarch* is omitted, and instead of TIBЄPIAC in full, the name is abbreviated, and the initial T and final C are the only two letters given. This coin is in the cabinet of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, and was obtained at the village of Siloam, near Jerusalem.[4]

[2] This coin is published by the late Col. Leake in his *Numismatica Hellenica. Kings and Dynasts*, p. 40.

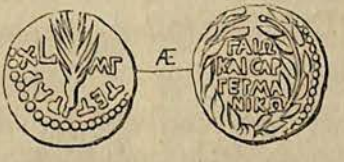
[3] Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 34.

[4] *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. ii. p. 272.



6. *Obv.* ΗΡΩΔΗC (*sic*) ΤЄΤΡΑΡΧΗC (*sic*). Palm-branch. In *field* L. MΓ (year 43).

Rev. ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ . ΓЄΡΜΑΝ[ικῳ] in four lines within wreath. (*Trésor*, pl. LIX. no. 19.) Æ. 5.



7. *Obv.* . . . . . ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧ. Palm-branch. In *field* L. MΓ (year 43).

Rev. ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡ[ι] ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ in four lines within wreath. (*Trésor*, pl. LIX. no. 20.) Æ. 4.

Eckhel[5] has entered into a long discussion concerning the date MΓ on these coins, and has given another from Vaillant with L. MΔ (year 44). It seems to us very clear that the dates on these coins designate the years of the reign of Herod Antipas. It is now clearly established that the death of Herod I. took place early in the year A.U.C. 750 (B.C. 4), in which year Antipas became the tetrarch of Galilee. The year 43 would thus correspond to the year A.D. 39, when he was banished by Caius to Lugdunum. The coin from Vaillant must therefore be false or misread.[6]

[5] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 486 *seq.*

[6] See TABLE I.

D. Herod Philip II.

B.C. 4.—A.D. 34.

Philip II. was the son of Herod I. and Cleopatra (Ἱεροσολυμῖτις), and received as his share of the kingdom the tetrarchies of Auranitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, with certain parts about Jamnia. He is only mentioned once in the New Testament,[7] and must not be confounded with Herod Philip I.[8] the son of Herod I. and a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the High-Priest. He was married to Salome, the daughter of Herod Philip I. and Herodias.[9] He built the city of Cæsarea Paneas, more commonly known as Cæsarea Philippi,[1] and bestowed the name of *Julias* upon the town of Bethsaida in Lower Gaulonitis.[2] He here built a fine monument, in which his remains were deposited after his death. He enjoyed a reign of 37 years (B.C. 4—A.D. 34), and showed himself to be a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government, always living in the country, and ruling with equity and mildness. As he left no children, Tiberius transferred his principality to the Roman province of Syria.

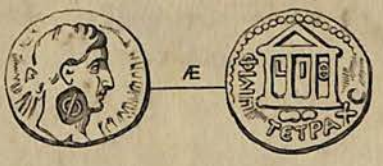
[7] Φιλίππου τετραρχοῦντος, Luke iii. 1.

[8] Matt. xvi. 3; Mark vi. 17; Luke iii. 19. Mr. Akerman in his *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament*, p. 18, has wrongly attributed coins to this Philip. No coins exist of Herod Philip I. It must be remembered that he was omitted in the will of Herod, in consequence of the discovery that his mother was conscious of the plots of Antipater.

[9] The editors of the *Trésor Numismatique et Glyptique* have also confounded the two Philips, by saying that this one was married to Herodias, who passed from her uncle Philip to her uncle Herod Antipas.

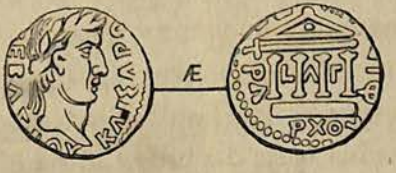
[1] Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27.

[2] This Bethsaida is mentioned in Luke ix. 10, and Mark viii. 22, and must not be confounded with Bethsaida of Galilee. *Cf.* Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, and Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopædia*, s. v. *Bethsaida.*



1. *Obv.* [ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ]. Head of Tiberius to right, laureated; above it a Φ in countermark.

Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠ[ΠΟΥ] ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟ[Υ] (*sic*). Tetrastyle temple; between the columns L . IΘ (year 19 = A.D. 15). (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 1.) Æ. 4.



2. *Obv.* ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟ[Σ Σ]ΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. Head of Tiberius to right, laureated.

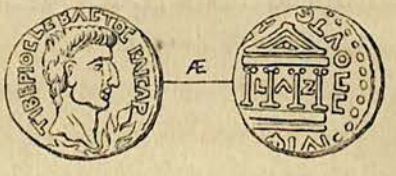
Rev. ΦΙΛ[ΙΠΠΟΥ] [ΤΕ]ΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. Tetrastyle temple; between the columns L . ΛΓ (year 33 = A.D. 29). (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 2.) Æ. 4.

Mionnet[3] gives coins with similar types and the dates L. IS (year 16) L. KS (year 26) and L. KΘ (year 29). Eckhel[4] gives similar coins with the date L. KS. Though I have not seen coins with these dates, there is no reason why they should not have been struck.

The head upon the obverse of these coins has hitherto always been described as that of Augustus, in which case the coin with the date L. IΘ (year 19), would have been struck one year after his death. Remarks, too, have been made upon the strangeness of the absence of the formula of consecration, especially on the part of a prince

[3] Vol. v. p. 567; nos. 78, 79. [4] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 490.

who professed the Jewish religion. It is true that did the coin given by Mionnet with date L. IS exist, *that one* would have the head of Augustus, but we can see no reason for supposing that those that we at present possess represent any other head than that of Tiberius. Fortunately a specimen has lately been found on which the name TIBEPIOC is given in full, and which will for the future set at rest all doubts on this subject.



3. *Obv.* TIBEPIOC CEBACTOC KAICAP. Head of Tiberius, to right, bare; before it a branch (of laurel?).

Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤ. . . Tetrastyle temple: between the columns L. ΛΖ (year 37 = A.D. 33). (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) Æ. 4.

The effigy of the Roman emperor on these coins was a grave infringement of the Mosaic Law. But it has been suggested[5] that this infraction took place at some distance from the centre of religion, in a town inhabited for the most part by Greeks, and besides a son of Herod is not likely to have scrupled to break the national Law in order to flatter the masters of the world.

The temple on the reverse of these coins is doubtless the one that his father Herod I. had built near the place called Panium, and dedicated to Cæsar.[6]

[5] *Trésor de Num. et de Glyptique. Les Rois Grecs*, p. 126.

[6] Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 10, 3; *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 3.

E. Herod Agrippa I.

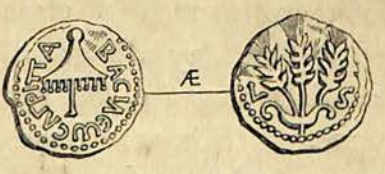
A.D. 37—A.D. 44.

Agrippa I. was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great. He passed his early life in pleasure and debauchery, as companion of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and the future Emperor Claudius. His extravagance soon caused him great embarrassment, and through his sister Herodias, the second wife of Herod Antipas, he obtained the appointment of governor of the city of Tiberias. He soon quarrelled with Antipas, and after many adventures arrived at Rome, where he was favourably received by the Emperor Tiberius. He there formed a close intimacy with Caius (Caligula). One day whilst riding with Caius, he expressed a wish that the latter might soon succeed to the throne. This was reported to Tiberius, who threw him into prison, where he remained till the death of the Emperor, A.D. 37. Caius on his accession immediately released him, and gave him the tetrarchy of Philip, which had since A.D. 34 belonged to Rome. Whilst Agrippa was on his way to take possession of his new kingdom, Antipas hastened to Rome to ask for himself likewise the title of 'King.' This however was prevented by Agrippa, and Antipas, instead of gaining the royal title, was sent into exile at Lyons, and his principality of Galilee and Peræa was given to Agrippa. After the death of Caius, Claudius continued to Agrippa the same marks of favour, and enlarged his dominions still further by giving him Judæa and Samaria, and also the tetrarchy of Lysanias II. His possessions were now as large as those of his grandfather, Herod I.

Agrippa I. was universally popular with the Jews, for he loved to live at Jerusalem, and was a strict observer of the laws of his country, which accounts for his perse-

cution of the Christians. He also conferred benefits on several cities by enlarging them, and building amphitheatres, and instituting games. During one of these at Cæsarea Palestinæ, he was suddenly seized with violent internal pains, for not rebuking the people who had saluted him as a God, and he died five days after, A.D. 44. Agrippa I. is called 'Herod the King,' in the Acts.[7]

There is only one type of the coins of Agrippa I. that may be considered purely Jewish, though there are several bearing profane types. De Saulcy was the first to restore this coin to Agrippa I. It is found very frequently at Jerusalem, and was from that circumstance most probably struck there.



1. *Obv.* ΒΑCΙΛΕѠC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ,[8] written round an umbrella, surrounded with fringes.

Rev. Three ears of corn springing from one stalk: in the *field* to right and left L. S (year 6). (De Saulcy, pl. IX. no. 8.) Æ. 4.

Eckhel[9] gives the following dates as occurring upon similar coins L. Є (5), L. Z (7), L. Θ (9). De Saulcy, quoting from Eckhel, does not believe in the existence of a coin of the year 8 (*read* 9), and Eckhel and Cavedoni[10] assert that if a coin of the year 9 does exist, it cannot belong to Agrippa I. but to Agrippa II., as the former only reigned seven years. Levy,[1] though acknowledging that other year-numerals than the year 6 have been found, and

[7] Ch. xii.

[8] I have never seen this word spelt ΑΓΡΙΠΠΠΑ on these coins, as given by Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 35).

[9] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 493.

[10] *Num. Bibl.* vol. ii. p. 37.

[1] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 81, *note.*

that these coins by necessity must be ascribed to the *son* of Agrippa, sees no reason to give up also to the younger Agrippa the coins with the year 6, merely because the elder does not on these coins call himself 'The Great King.' His desire for popularity would prevent him from placing such a title on those coins struck in Jerusalem. It occurs however on other coins, of which we shall speak presently. It is worthy of remark that neither at Copenhagen, nor at Vienna, nor at Berlin, is there a piece of Agrippa with a higher numeral than 6,[2] nor I may add either at the British Museum, or in the collection of Mr. Wigan. Here the matter would have rested, had not the following coin been recently published by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, as forming part of his collection.[3]

2. *Obv.* ΑΓΡΙΠ . . . Type obliterated.

Rev. Three ears of corn. In the *field* to right and left L.H (year 8). Æ. 4.

He also states that he has coins with the dates published by Eckhel, 5, 7, and 9. We think he has proved that these coins belong to Agrippa I., and take the following remarks from his paper. "Eckhel and Cavedoni assert that if a coin of the year 9 does exist, it cannot belong to Agrippa I., inasmuch as the former only reigned seven years. Now these eminent men have forgotten that we have coins of the second year of Roman princes who only reigned a few months; nor is it likely that they were aware that the Jewish kings counted their reign of one day of the year for a whole year, commencing that year on the 1st of Nisan (Gemar. Bab. Tract., 'Rosh hashana,' fol. 26). So, if one king ascended the throne the day before the 1st of Nisan, that one day would have been said to be the first year of that king's reign, and on the following day, the 1st of Nisan, it would have been

[2] *Jüd. Münzen, l. c.;* Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 36, *note.*

[3] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 272.

said he entered upon his second year. Agrippa, therefore, though only reigning for the space of seven years, might put the ninth year on his coins, as may be seen rom the following table:—

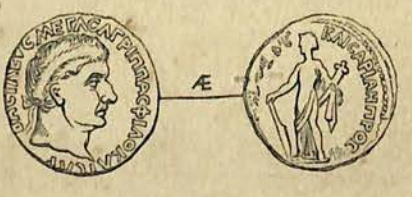
Agrippa made King by Caligula,

U.C.			A D.			YEAR
790	before	the 1st Nisan	37	counting	this as his	1st
„	from	the 1st Nisan	„	„	„	2nd
791	„	„	38	„	„	3rd
792	„	„	39	„	„	4th
793	„	„	40	„	„	5th
794	„	„	41	„	„	6th
795	„	„	42	„	„	7th
796	„	„	43	„	„	8th
797	„	„	44	„	„	9th

when Agrippa died, in his fifty-fourth year."

The type of the above engraved coin of Agrippa I. has puzzled many numismatists. Some[4] have thought that the umbrella was a *tabernaculum*, and had some reference to this feast, and that the ears of corn on the reverse alluded to the bread offered. Levy throws out the suggestion that the umbrella may indicate a token of his dignity, as we find in all times with great men and princes of the East.[5]

We now pass on to the coins of Agrippa I. not strictly Jewish.



3. *Obv.* ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑC ΦΙΛΟ-ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Head of Agrippa to right, with diadem (?).

[4] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 493; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 61.

[5] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 81.

Rev. KAICAPIA H. ΠΡΟC. . . . Fortune standing to left, holding in left hand cornu-copiæ and placing right hand on rudder. (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 3.) Æ. 5.

Mionnet reads ΦΙΛΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC[6] instead of ΦΙΛΟ-ΚΑΙCΑΡ, but no coin appears to be known with this reading. Belley also completes the reverse-legend from the coins of Cæsarea in Samaria, KAICAPIA H ΠΡΟC ΤΩ CEBACTΩ ΛIMENÎ "Cæsarea near the port of Augustus."[7] The coins are generally so badly preserved that this reading cannot be made out, but there is one engraved by Mr. Akerman in his "Numismatic Illustrations of the Acts of the Apostles,"[8] in a perfect condition. It is stated to have been engraved from the specimen in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*. Now as the editors of the *Trésor* remark that after the most careful examination of this coin, they cannot make out the legend as completed by Belley, it is very clear that the French artist who drew the coin for Mr. Akerman must have been instructed to add the legend. Mr. Akerman has kindly informed me that the drawing was professedly made from a coin in the *Bibliothèque*, and that he took it in perfect good faith from his French correspondent. Herod I. had built the port of Sebastos in honour of Augustus, and Cæsarea itself was also called Sebaste.[9]

It will be seen that on the above described coin Agrippa bears the title of ΜΕΓΑΣ, great. Perhaps (as is suggested by Ewald[1]) he is styled ΜΕΓΑΣ (elder) to

[6] The title ΦΙΛΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC occurs on coins of Herod, king of Chalcis, with his portrait.

[7] The coins of Cæsarea under Nero read ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 487.) *Cf.* Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 5; *Bell. Jud.* i. 31, 3.

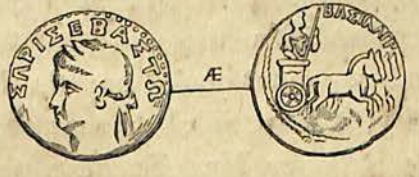
[8] P. 39.

[9] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 5, 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 31, 3.

[1] *Geschichte*, vol. iv. p. 473.

distinguish him from Agrippa II., as in the case of Helcias the elder,[2] in contradistinction to Helcias, the keeper of the sacred treasure.[3] Mionnet,[4] however, gives a coin from Sestini with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΣ; head of Agrippa to the left; before L. E. (year 5), and on the reverse, ΑΝΘΗΔΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ, with the type of a double cornu-copiæ.[5] This coin is struck at Anthedon, a city on the coast of Palestine, not far from Gaza. It was given to Herod I. by Augustus,[6] and the former changed its name to Agrippias[7] in honour of his friend Marcus Agrippa.

Agrippa I. under Caius (Caligula).



1. *Obv.* [ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙ] ΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ. Head of Caius to left, laureated.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛ . ΑΓΡ . . (very indistinct). Emperor holding sceptre in quadriga to right. (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 4.) Æ. 5.

Froelich[8] has read the obverse legend of this coin C. KAICAP. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑΣ. ΙΕ . . . and the reverse legend ΒΑΣΙΛ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Γ. This is evidently incorrect.

[2] Ἑλκίας ὁ μέγας, Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 8, 4.

[3] Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8, 11.

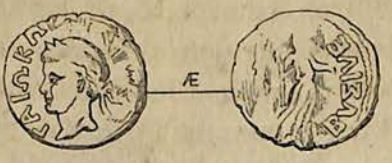
[4] *Suppl.* vol. viii. p. 364.

[5] See p. 60, *note.*

[6] Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 7, 3.

[7] Ἀγριππιάδα μετωνόμασε, Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13, 3; Ἀγρίππειον προσηγόρευσεν, *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, 8.

[8] *Cf.* Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 491; Mionnet, vol. v. p. 568, no. 83.



2. *Obv.* ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑ . . . . Head of Caius to left, laureated.

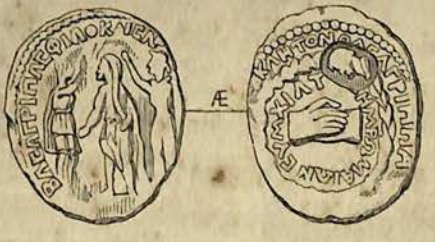
Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕ (retrograde). Victory flying to right. (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 5.) Æ. $4\frac{1}{2}$.

The following coin is given by Vaillant.

3. *Obv.* Head of Caius.

Rev. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ. Male figure standing, holding volume in his hand. (Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 491.) Æ. II.

AGRIPPA I. UNDER CLAUDIUS.



1. *Obv.* ΒΑΣ[ιλεύς] ΑΓΡΙΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Emperor, head veiled, sacrificing, and crowned by two females, one of which is Victory.

Rev. ΔΗΜ[ος] ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ . . ΣΥΜΧΙΑΤ (?) [ΣΥΝ] ΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΒΑΣ[ιλεύς] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Two hands joined together within a wreath: an imperial head in countermark. (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 6.) Æ. 8.

Without a more perfect example of this rare coin, it is impossible to make out more than that the legend bears allusion to some connection between Agrippa, the Roman people, and the Senate. Perhaps ΣΥΜΧΙΑΤ (*sic*) may represent ΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ. A magistrate of

this name occurs on coins of Antioch, in Caria, under Augustus.[9] This coin was certainly struck on the alliance of Agrippa with Claudius, when all Herod's kingdom was given to him, and a league made, confirmed by oaths in the middle of the forum of the city of Rome.[1]

2. *Obv.* [ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ]C ΚΑΙΓΑΡΓ. . . . Head of Claudius to right, laureated.

Rev. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ . . . . Agrippa (?) within an edifice, sacrificing at an altar in honour of one or two divinities, of which the more distinct looks like the Diana of the coins of Gaza. At the feet of Agrippa (?) a figure in submission (Judæa ?). (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 7.) Æ. 7.

This coin may represent a ceremony taking place in the temple of the god Marna at Gaza. The early Christian writers inform us that the finest temple in Gaza (which was afterwards converted into a Christian church) was dedicated to Marna, and called the Marnion. This Marna was the Cretan Jupiter.[2]

The next coin is given by Vaillant.

3. *Obv.* Head of Claudius.

Rev. ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ως] ΑΓΡΙΠ[ΠΑ] ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ, written within a wreath. (Eckhel, vol. iii. p. 492.) Æ. II.

Tiberias was the name of the city built on the Lake of

[9] Mionnet, vol. iii. p. 316.

[1] "Ορκια τε αὐτῷ τέμνεται προς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἐν τῇ Ρωμαίων πόλει. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 5, 1.)

[2] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet* vol. iii. p. 450.

Gennesareth by Herod Antipas, and was the capital of the province. Agrippa I. is said to have stayed there some time.[3]

AGRIPPA I. AND II.

1. *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ. Head of Agrippa I. with diadem.

Rev. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΥΙΟΣ ΒΑΣ[ιλέως]. Agrippa II. on horseback. Æ.

This coin is described by Wise,[4] who saw it in the hands of a friend, David Bosanquet. There is a woodcut given of it, and it somewhat resembles the coins of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, king of Commagene, on which his two sons (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΥΙΟΙ) Epiphanes and Callinicus are represented on horseback.[5] Agrippa I. appears to have treated this Antiochus and other kings with entertainments at Tiberias.[6] A similar coin is described by Mionnet[7] from Sestini, and attributed to Agrippias Anthedon.[8] Beneath the horseman on the reverse is the date L . B (year 2). These coins are not above suspicion, and I am not aware if specimens now exist.

F. HEROD, KING OF CHALCIS.

A.D. 41—A.D. 48.

Herod, king of Chalcis, was the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and the brother of Herod Agrippa I. At

[3] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2, 3; xix. 8, 1; Joseph. *Vit.* 9.

[4] Wise, *Catalogue of Coins in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, p. 118.

[5] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 492.

[6] Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8, 1.

[7] *Suppl.* vol. viii. p. 364.

[8] See p. 108.

the request of Agrippa I., he obtained from Claudius the small kingdom of Chalcis, and, after the death of his brother, Claudius gave him the authority over the temple, the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the High-Priests.[9] He died in A.D. 48, and his small kingdom was given by Claudius to his nephew Herod Agrippa II.

The coins now given to Herod of Chalcis by Cavedoni,[1] an attribution approved by Levy,[2] were previously attributed by De Saulcy[3] to Herod the Great. De Saulcy found a reason for a live symbol (an eagle) on these coins, in the fact of Herod having attempted to place a golden eagle on the principal door of the temple, and suggests that the eagle might have been also placed on the coins struck in the name of Herod previous to and even after the sedition to which his bold attempt gave rise.

It seems though excessively unlikely that Herod should have adopted such a type for his coins; and if he did so, it is the only instance of the image of a living creature on Jewish coins. Levy does not hesitate to assume that this money is that used by the pilgrims from Chalcis to Jerusalem. A flying eagle also is the emblem on a coin of Ptolemæus, tetrarch of Chalcidene,[4] and it is worthy of note that the inscription on these coins is written in two parallel lines on either side of the type, whilst on the coins of Herod I. the inscriptions are written round the types.

Obv. BACIΛ . . HPѠΔ written on either side of a cornu-copiæ or the horn of an ox.

[9] Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. i. 3.

[1] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 35.

[2] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 82.

[3] *Num. Jud.* p. 131 *seq.*; cf. *Revue Numismatique*, 1857, p. 292.

[4] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 264.

Rev. No legend. An eagle standing to right, similar to that on the coins of the Ptolemies, Tyre, etc. (De Saulcy, pl. VI. nos. 10, 11, 12.) Æ. 3.

De Saulcy has described the object on the obverse as a cornu-copiæ,[5] but Cavedoni suggests that it is the horn of an ox, and may have some reference to the bullock's horn, which contained the sacred oil used for anointing the High-Priest, or perhaps a repository for the treasure, which was also in the shape of a bullock's horn.

I have only introduced this coin of Herod, king of Chalcis, as it is a new attribution of a coin formerly given to a Jewish king. Though Herod of Chalcis exercised a certain authority over Jerusalem, he has left no numismatic traces of it. All his coins belong to the country of Chalcis, which Ptolemy, son of Mannæus, Lysanias, and Zenodorus had possessed as tetrarchs, and they have therefore no place in a work treating especially of the coins of the princes and cities of Judæa.[6]

G. Agrippa II.

A.D. 48—A.D. 100.

Agrippa II. was the son of Herod Agrippa I. and Cypros. At his father's death in A.D. 44 he was only seventeen years of age, and in consequence, Claudius, thinking that he was too young to govern, sent Cuspius Fadus as procurator. In A.D. 48 Herod king of Chalcis died, and Agrippa was appointed by Claudius as his uncle Herod's successor. Some years after, Claudius took it away from him, giving him instead the tetrarchies of Philip II. and Lysanias, including Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis,

[5] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 31.

[6] Cf. *Trésor de Num. et Glyp.* p. 127.

and Abilene, with the title of King.[7] In A.D. 55 Nero gave him the cities of Tiberias and Tarichææ in Galilee, and Julias, a city of Peræa, with fourteen villages near it.

Agrippa II. much enlarged the city of Cæsarea Philippi, calling it *Neronias*, in honour of the Emperor Nero, a fact also confirmed by his coins. He however made himself very unpopular by spending money in improving Jerusalem and Berytus, and transferring to these places almost everything that was ornamental in his own kingdom. About the year A.D. 60, Agrippa II. and his sister Berenice paid a visit to the Roman governor Festus at Cæsarea, who, knowing that Agrippa was better acquainted than himself with matters relating to the Jewish Law, recounted to him the case of the apostle Paul. In consequence, Agrippa expressed a desire to see him, and a day having been fixed for the interview, Agrippa and Berenice with their suite entered the audience chamber with great pomp (*πολλῆς φαντασίας*). Paul then made his speech to Agrippa, but his words only called forth the ironical and contemptuous answer, "Thou wilt soon persuade me to be a Christian,"[8] an answer which Paul accepted as sincere, and to which he replied, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds."[9]

At the commencement of the war with the Romans, Agrippa used all his eloquence to dissuade the Jews from fighting, and his speech is given at some length by Josephus, with whom he appears to have been on intimate

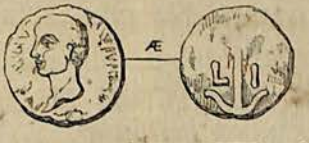
[7] *Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεύς*, Acts xxv. 13; xxvi. 2, etc. *Cf.* Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12, 8; *Antiq.* xx. 7, 1.

[8] The authorised version has '*Almost* thou persuadest me to be a Christian,' but *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* cannot mean *almost*. (See Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 367, *note*.)

[9] Acts xxvi. 29.

terms;[1] he eventually sided with the Romans and was wounded by a sling-stone at the siege of Gamala. When Jerusalem was taken and the war ended, he retired to Rome with his sister, and there died, aged 70, in the third year of the Emperor Trajan (A.D. 100). He was the last Jewish prince of the Herodian line.

AGRIPPA II. ALONE.



1. *Obv.* [ΒΑCΙΛ . . . . ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ.] Head, to the left, laureated. (?)

Rev. L. I. (year 10), an anchor. Æ. 4.

This remarkable coin is in the collection of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, and is attributed by him in the *Numismatic Chronicle*[2] to Agrippa II. He first lays great stress upon the juvenile countenance of the King, and then upon the date, year 10. He assumes that Agrippa II. counted the years of his reign from his father's death in A.D. 44, but that he did not take the government at once, till Claudius in A.D. 53 (being the tenth year of his (Agrippa's) reign) bestowed upon him the title of King, on which occasion he thought himself entitled to cause coins to be struck in his name as King. The cast I possess of this coin does not enable me to speak with any certainty as to the correctness of Mr. Reichardt's reading; should it be true, the coin is one of great interest, and the only one at present known with the head of Agrippa II. With the date that Mr. Reichardt assigns to the coin, viz. A.D. 53, I cannot agree, as I do not believe that Agrippa counted the years

[1] *Bell. Jud.* ii. 16, 4; Josephus gives two of his letters. (*Vit.* sect. 65.)

[2] N. S. vol. ii. p. 274. See p. 68, *note* 5, for another Jewish coin with a portrait.

of his reign till he succeeded his uncle Herod of Chalcis at the close of the year A.D. 48. This would give us for his tenth year, A.D. 58. The right of striking coins with his head must have been peremptorily put a stop to, as in the next year (A.D. 59) and all future years his coins appear either with the head of the town at which they were struck, or with the head of the reigning Emperor.

AGRIPPA II. UNDER NERO.

1. *Obv.* Legend lost. Head of Nero to the right, laureated; in front, the *lituus*.

Rev. ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ως] ΑΓΡΙΠΠ[α] ΝΕΡΩΝΙΕ[ων] written in five lines within an olive crown. (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 13.) Æ. 6.

2. *Obv.* NEPΩN CEBACTOC. Head of Nero to the right, laureated.

Rev. Legend and type the same as no. 1. (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 14.) Æ. 4.

3. *Obv.* NEPΩN. KAI. . . . Head of Nero to the right, laureated.

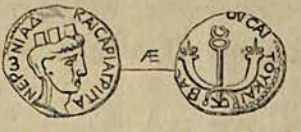
Rev. Legend and type the same as no. 1. (British Museum.) Æ. 2½.

These three coins were struck at Cæsarea Paneas, or as it was called by Philip the tetrarch who rebuilt it, Cæsarea Philippi,[3] to distinguish it from Cæsarea in Palestine. Agrippa II. in A.D. 55, had received valuable additions to his territory from the Emperor Nero, and in his honour changed the name of Cæsarea Philippi to that

[3] Καισάρεια ἡ Φιλίππου, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 37.

of *Neronias*.[4] The coins were probably struck in honour of the festivals held at Neronias, on its dedication. They have no dates.

The next two coins are dated. The first was also struck at Neronias; the second was certainly struck under Nero, though neither of them bears the head of the Emperor.



4. *Obv.* ΝΕΡΩΝΙΑΔ .... ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ(?) ΑΓΡΙΠΑ(?). Turreted female head to the right.

Rev. ΒΑ[C ΑΓΡ ΕΤ]ΟΥC ΑΙΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ϗ. Two cornua-copiæ, between them a *caduceus*. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) Æ. III.

5. *Obv.* ΒΑCΙΛΕΟC (*sic*) ΜΑΡΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. Hand closed, holding ears of corn and poppy-heads.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥC ΑΙΤΟΥ, within a circle, and written round a monogram ϗ (Κϗ). (Comp. *Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 15, and Cavedoni, *Num. Bibl.* (Italian work) pl. I. no. 6.) Æ. III.

According to Eckhel[5] the letters ΑΙ = 11 and the ΤΟΥ is shortened from Ἑνδεκάτου. In proof of this he adduces the reverse of a coin of Antony and Cleopatra, with the analogous reading ЄΤΟΥC ΚΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ C, which he explains Ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ πρώτου καὶ διακοσιοστοῦ, viz. *anno* XXI *supra* CC, but Cavedoni[6] agrees with Letronne, who has proved that we ought to read ЄΤΟΥC ΚΑ ΤΟΥ

[4] Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9, 4.

[5] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 494; *cf.* vol. iv. p. 24. Eckhel omits the Κϗ, as also the editors of the *Trésor*, but there is no doubt that it is the correct reading. (*Cf.* Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 38.)

[6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 63, *note*.

KAI Ϛ, viz. XXI, *which is also* VI, according to the double era of Cleopatra. That the K may stand for KAI is not only suggested by the reverse of a coin of the Antiochians of Ptolemaïs, with the letters ΑΣΚΑ, which are equivalent to Ασύλου Καὶ Αὐτονόμου,[7] but is proved by the coin of Neronias, which I publish from the collection of E. Wigan, Esq., where the KAI is at full length in an analogous position. There is not much doubt then, that we ought to read the legends ETOYC AI TOY KAI ϛ (or K ϛ), year XI, *which is also* VI, that is to say the 11th year of Agrippa, corresponding to the 6th year of the Emperor Nero, which, reckoning from the time when Agrippa succeeded his uncle Herod as King of Chalcis, will give us the date A.D. 59. Cavedoni has thrown out the suggestion that perhaps Agrippa II. computed the years of his reign with a double epoch of his own, and supports his theory by the account of Josephus, which gives to his father, Agrippa I., seven years of reign, and then says he died in the third year of his reign over all Judæa.[8]

On no. 5, Agrippa II. bears the name of *Marcus*. Pellerin suggests that it was given to him on account of the

[7] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 307. See also the coins of Alexandria, on which is ЄNNЄAKΔ for Ἐννέα καὶ Δέκα.

[8] *Antiq.* xix. 8, 2. To make the year 11 of the reign of Agrippa II. agree with the 6th year of Nero, it is necessary to assume that he did not commence his reign at Chalcis till A.D. 49. Indeed, he was not appointed as Herod's successor till the very end of A.D. 48. If it was the 17th year of Agrippa himself, it would then correspond to A.D. 65. I am, however, of opinion that the former supposition is correct. Assuming that TOY KAI ϛ means "year VI. of Nero," the double date receives some confirmation from the tetradrachms of Antioch marked with the years of the reign of Nero below those of the Cæsarean era. (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 281; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 63, *note.*) Though the kingdom of Chalcis was taken away from Agrippa II. in A.D. 53 (or rather at the close of the 12th year of Claudius in A.D. 52), he must have struck some of his coins upon the Chalcian era even after he was deprived of the kingdom.

family of the Herods being so much indebted to the triumvir Antonius. Eckhel,[9] however, thinks that it is derived from Marcus Agrippa. The type of the hand with the ears of corn and poppy-heads may perhaps refer to the regular payment of the tithes, which were probably restored through the agency of Agrippa, especially as he had the control of the Temple, a duty which his uncle Herod of Chalcis had previously discharged.[1] The figure in the middle of this coin has been considered to be 'an uncertain object,' though it is described by Pellerin[2] as a small crown, and by Mionnet[3] as a small head of an elephant. Cavedoni,[4] who has evidently not seen the original coin, and who gives the legend as ETOYC AITOY K and in the centre Я, says that the latter part of the word AITOY [TOY] is not very distinct, and that there seems to be interposed *between* the K and ETOYC a letter like 8. This letter is a form of OY, and may be found on coins of Hadrian struck at Smyrna,[5] on the *two assaria* pieces of the Archon Aurelius Chrysogonos struck at Chios,[6] and also on the coins of Marcianopolis and Nicopolis in Mœsia.[7] What this sign may mean, if it should occur on this coin, I am unable to say. The Collas process (which has been called by Cavedoni *der zuverlässigen Methode Collas*) represents these small brass coins in such a dreadful manner, that it is often next to impossible to decipher the legends. By the kindness, however, of M. Cohen

There is no other era to which they could possibly belong. (See TABLE II.; *cf.* p. 115; also see under Agrippa II. with Vespasian, nos. 4, 5, and 6.)

[9] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 494.

[1] Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8, 8; 9, 2; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 38 *seq.*; Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 82.

[2] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 494.

[3] Vol. v. p. 571.

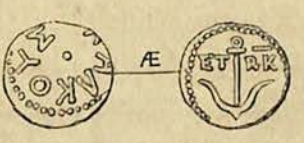
[4] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 63, *note*.

[5] Mionnet, *Suppl.* vol. vi. p. 340, no. 1689.

[6] Mionnet, *Suppl.* vol. vi. p. 398, nos. 87, 88.

[7] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. ci.

of Paris, who has sent me an impression of this coin, I am enabled to say that the legend is certainly ETOYC AI TOY and that what Cavedoni has taken for the sign 8 is nothing more than *the ends of the ornament at the juncture of the wreath or band.* It seems also clear to me that the object in the centre represents the conclusion of the date, and is given in monogram Я, which stands for K Я (*καὶ* Я, *and* 6).



6. *Obv.* ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ, written round a dot, which is in the middle of the coin.

Rev. ET. R K. Anchor. (British Museum.) Æ. III.

This interesting little coin has been assigned by Cavedoni[8] to Agrippa II. He says, 'The year R K, that is 26, of this Χαλκοῦς coin, if it denotes a year of the reign of Agrippa II. coincides with A.D. 73,[9] at which time nothing but ruins remained of the Temple, but this small piece of money might very well have served for the offerings which the Jews were compelled to bring every Sabbath to the synagogue during the reign of Agrippa.' This attribution, though not proved, is not improbable, as the type of the anchor is of common occurrence on the coins of Herod I. (no. 8 *seq.*), and may even be found on a coin of Agrippa II. (no. 1.) The word ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ has been supposed by Sestini[1] to indicate rather the name of a magistrate than the name of a coin, since, says this writer, we ought to have ΧΑΛΚΟΝ and not ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ in the nominative case, but Eckhel[2] has rightly argued that χαλκοῦς is the

[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 39. Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 286) has suggested that it may belong to Commagene.

[9] *Read*, A.D. 74. See TABLE II. at end of volume.

[1] *Lettere*, T. i. p. 53. [2] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 286.

proper nominative, and quotes the authority of Pausanias,[3] who, speaking of the people of Pharæ (on the left bank of the *Kamenitza*, near *Prevezá*[4]), says that they have a country coinage and call it *chalcus* (*νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον, καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα*). There cannot be the slightest doubt that the word *χαλκοῦς* on this coin indicates the name of the piece.[5]

AGRIPPA II. UNDER VESPASIAN.

1. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ[*τορι*] ΟΥΕC[*πασιανῷ*] | ΚΑΙ-CAPI CBACTΩ (*sic*). Head of Vespasian to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΕΤ[*ους*] ΔΙ ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Deity with *modius* on head standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiæ. (British Museum; cf. *Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 1.) Æ. 8.

Æ

2. *Obv.* Legend and type as no. 1.

[3] Lib. vii. c. 22. [4] Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, s.v. *Pharæ*.

[5] Another specimen of this coin is in the Hunter Museum. Three other coins are known with the word χαλκοῦς on them, and they probably belong to Antioch in Syria (Pellerin, *Lettre* iv. pl. iv. 2; Hunter, pl. 68). Two of them have on the obverse a female head and one a male laureated head (perhaps Nero); two of them have the the date ΔΙΡ, and all three have on the reverse a quiver and bow. (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 286.)

Rev. L. ΙΔ ΒΑCΙ[λέως] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. The same type as no. 1. (*Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 2.) Æ. 7.

3. *Obv.* Legend and type as no. 1.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥ[ς] ΗΙ ΒΑ[σιλέως] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. The same type as no. 1. (*Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 3.) Æ. 7.

The word CEBACTΩ is quite plain on this coin. The example engraved in the *Trésor* has the counter-mark of a human head on the neck of Vespasian.

The first two of these coins bear the dates ΔΙ or ΙΔ (14), and the third ΗΙ (18). In order to make these dates agree with the time of Vespasian, it is necessary to assume that some particular era was employed. From a coin of Domitian, which is described *in loco* (p. 130), an era is obtained commencing in the 8th year of Nero, viz. A.D. 61. This gives us for the 14th year of Agrippa's reign, A.D. 74, and for the 18th year, A.D. 78, the year before the death of Vespasian.

4. *Obv.* Legend and type as no. 1.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥ[ς] ΚϚ ΒΑ[σιλέως] ΑΓΡΙΠΠ[α]. Same type as no. 1. (*Cabinet des Médailles*, Paris.) Æ. 8.

I am indebted to M. Cohen of Paris for an impression of this coin.

5. *Obv.* Legend and type as no. 1.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥ[ς] ΚΖ ΒΑ[σιλέως] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Deity standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiæ; before her a star. (*Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 4.) Æ. 8.

6. *Obv.* Legend and type as no. 1.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥ[ς] ΚΘ ΒΑ[σιλέως] ΑΓΙΠΠΑ (*sic*). Same type as no. 1. (*Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 5.) Æ. 7.

These three coins bear respectively the dates ΚϚ (26), ΚΖ (27), and ΚΘ (29). It is very certain that they were not struck on the same era as the three previous ones, for that would bring them down to A.D. 89, at which time Domitian was Emperor. It is necessary therefore to assume another era, and that of Chalcis, as in the previous case of the coins with the date ΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ϞΖ, will, I think, furnish us with the correct dates. The kingdom of Chalcis was taken away from Agrippa II. at the end of A.D. 52, and given to Aristobulus (the son of Herod, king of Chalcis), who is said to have still held it in the fourth year of Vespasian, A.D. 72.[6] Under Domitian, it seems to have been added to the Roman Empire and to

[6] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 7, 1.

have received the name of *Flavia*.[7] Though the kingdom of Chalcis was thus taken away from Agrippa, he still appears to have counted the years of his reign on what may be called the 'Chalcian era.' The 17th year of Agrippa's reign ended at the close of A.D. 65,[8] and the former date can only be made to correspond with the latter by reckoning his reign on the 'Chalcian era.' Unless we assume this fact, the dates KS (26), KZ (27), and KΘ (29) on the three coins with Vespasian above described, and especially the latter date, could not be accounted for, except we adopt the theory of Eckhel that the coins with the dates 26, 27, and 29 of Vespasian and Titus were struck *after their death* by Agrippa in memory of the Flavian race to whom he owed so much.[9] It is worthy of notice, that there are no coins of Agrippa with the date of the Chalcian era after the death of Vespasian in A.D. 79, Chalcis, as above stated, having been added to the Roman Empire under Domitian.[1]

AGRIPPA II. UNDER TITUS.

1. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΟ[ΚΡάτωρ ΤΙΤΟC CЄΒ]ΑCΤΟC. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥ[ς]ΙΘ ΒΑ[σιλέως] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Deity.

[7] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 265.

[8] Clinton, F. R. vol. i. p. 48.

[9] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 495.

[1] See TABLE II. at end of volume.

with *modius* on head standing to left, holding ears of corn and cornu-copiæ. (*Cab. des Médailles*, Paris.) Æ. 7.

I am indebted again to M. Cohen of Paris, for the impression of this coin, which, as far as I can judge from the portrait (for the name is lost), must be assigned to Titus; the date I Θ (19), calculating from the 'era of Tiberias,' corresponds to A.D. 79, the year of the death of Vespasian and the accession of Titus.

2. *Obv.* AYTOKP[*άτωρ*] TITOC KAICAP CEBA[*στός*]. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev. ETO[*υς*] KS BA[*σιλέως*] AΓPIΠΠA. Victory flying to right, holding wreath and palm-branch; before her a star. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; British Museum; cf. *Trésor*, pl. LXI. nos. 10, 11.) Æ. 7.

3. *Obv.* AYTOK[P*άτορι* TITΩ] CEBACTΥ. Head of Titus to the right, laureated.

Rev. ETOY[*ς*] KΘ BA[*σιλέως*] AΓPIΠΠ[*α*]. Victory walking to the right, holding wreath and palm-branch. (British Museum.) Æ. 7.

There is a similar coin engraved in the *Trésor*,[2] but the reverse legend commences L. KΘ BA, etc.

In order to make the two dates KS (26) and KΘ (29) of Agrippa II. coincide with the reign of Titus, it is again

[2] Pl. LXI. no. 6.

necessary to find an era that will suit both reigns. This is supplied by the era commencing when Agrippa II. received the Tetrarchy of Philip from Claudius in A.D. 53. Unless the dates on these coins are calculated from this particular era, (or from that of Chalcis, in which case they would be struck during his father's lifetime,) there is only left the supposition of Eckhel, already mentioned under Vespasian, that they are *apotheosistic* coins. I think this latter suggestion very improbable. It is impossible to give any reasons for the adoption of different eras on the coins of Agrippa II. with Vespasian, and on those of Agrippa II. with Titus. I have examined the subject to the best of my ability, and shall be very glad if any numismatist can offer any more reasonable or rational conjectures. Even these two dates of Agrippa II. with Titus, I can only explain by supposing that the 26th year of Agrippa II. commenced in September A.D. 78. The following table will show my meaning:—

A.D. 78, Sept. = 26th year of Agrippa.
„ 79, June = 26th „ Death of Vespasian. Accession of Titus.
„ 79, Sept. = 27th year of Agrippa.
„ 80, Sept. = 28th „
„ 81, Sept. = 29th „ Death of Titus.

A coin with the date IΔ (14) and the head of Titus is described in the *Trésor*[3] and engraved. A specimen of the same coin is also published by M. Hoffmann in his *Bulletin Periodique*,[4] which he has informed me is now in the collection of Major Rauch of Berlin. The coins on which this date is described as occurring, have the legend AYTOKP . TITOC . KAICAP . CЄB., whilst we should

[3] Pl. LXI. no. 7. *Cf.* Mionnet, vol. v. p. 572, no. 110. Mionnet (*l. c.* p. 573, nos. 113, 117) gives coins of Titus with dates ET.K and ET.KZ. [See TABLE II.]

[4] Nos. 17 and 18, Sept. Oct. 1863, no. 531.

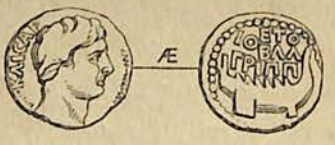
naturally expect to find on the coins struck during his father's lifetime only the title *Cæsar*. This is the case with the coins of Domitian[5] struck in Judæa during the lifetime of Vespasian and Titus. Though Titus was saluted as *Imperator* by the soldiers after the taking of Jerusalem, and reigned conjointly with Vespasian, he did not obtain the title *Augustus* (Σεβαστός) till his father's death in A.D. 79. Through the kindness of M. Cohen, I have obtained an impression of the coin engraved in the *Trésor*, and on it there is certainly a Δ, but it is impossible to say if any other letters preceded it. He also sends me another impression of a coin of Titus, on which there is something in the *field*. M. Cohen, who has of course seen the actual coins, and who has therefore had a better opportunity of judging of these letters, says of this latter one, "il est possible que ce ne soit pas une date, et en ce cas le Δ pourrait n'avoir rien de commun non plus avec une date." As, however, there is no reason for supposing that coins of Titus with the dates IΔ (14) or K (20) could not exist, it must be assumed that the designers of Agrippa's coins under Vespasian and Titus, engraved coins of both of them as *Augusti*, especially as they were known to be reigning together. The date IΔ (14) corresponds to A.D. 74, and K (20) to A.D. 72.

AGRIPPA II. UNDER DOMITIAN.

1. *Obv.* ΔOMITI[*ανός*] KAICAP. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev. L.IΔ BAC[*ιλέως*] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. Victory standing to the left, writing on shield. (British Museum; cf. *Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 12.) *Æ.* 4.

[5] *Vide infra.*



2. *Obv.* . . . . . ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΕΤΟ[*υς*] ΙΘ ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡΙΠΠ[*α*]. Trireme. (*Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 13.) Æ. 3.

These two coins were struck while Domitian was still *Cæsar*. The 14th (ΙΔ) year of Agrippa's reign corresponds to A.D. 74, and the 19th (ΙΘ) year to A.D. 79, the year of Vespasian's death. Domitian received the title of Cæsar in A.D. 69.

3. *Obv.* ΔΟΜΕΤ[*ιανός*] ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Bust of Domitian to the right, laureated, with *ægis*.

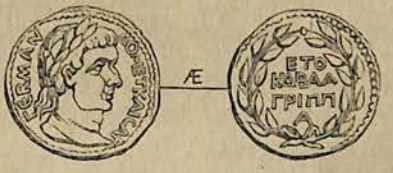
Rev. ΕΤΟ[*υς*] ΚΔ ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Victory flying to right, holding crown and palm? (*Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 14.) Æ. 6.

4. *Obv.* ΔΟΜΙΤ[*ιανός*] ΚΑΙC[*αρ*] ΓΕΡΜΑ[*νικός*]. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΕΤΟ[*υς*] ΔΚ ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Victory standing to right, placing left foot on helmet and writing on shield. In *field* to left crescent. (*Trésor*, pl. LXI. no. 15.) Æ. 4.

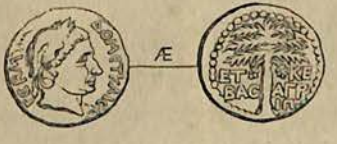
There is a coin in the British Museum of Domitian and

Agrippa with a similar type to no. 4, except that in the *field* to right there is a star. The date is wholly obliterated. The date is also wanting on what appears to be a similar or perhaps the same coin described in the *Trésor*.[6]



5. *Obv.* ΔOMET[*ιανός*] KAICAP ΓЄPMAN[*ικός*]. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev. ETO[*υς*] KΔ BA[*σιλέως*] AΓPIΠΠA, written within laurel wreath. (British Museum.) Æ. 4½.



6. *Obv.* ΔOMЄT[*ιανός*] KAIC[*αρ*] ΓЄPM[*ανικός*.] Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

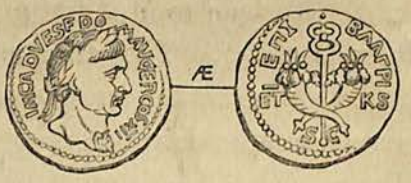
Rev. ET[*ους*] KE BAC[*ιλέως*] AΓPIΠ[*πα*]. Palm-tree. (*Trésor*, pl. LXII. no. 1.) Æ. 3½.

7. *Obv.* ΔOMITIAN[*ός*] KAICAP. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated, with two counter-marks.

Rev. ET[*ους*] KS BACI[*λέως*] AΓPIΠΠA. Victory standing to right, placing left foot on helmet, and writing on shield. (*Trésor*, pl. LXII. no. 2.) Æ. 5.

This coin is also known without the counter-marks.

[6] Pl. LXI. no. 9.



8. *Obv.* IM[perator] CA[esar] D[ivi] VES[pasiani] F[ilius] DOM[itianus] AV[gustus] GER[manicus] COS. XII. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated, with *ægis*.

Rev. ΕΠΙ ΒΑ[σιλέως] ΑΓΡΙ[ππα]. Two cornua-copiæ; between them a *caduceus*. In *field* to left and right ΕΤ[ους] ΚϚ. At foot of the cornua-copiæ, S. C. (Senatûsconsulto.) (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; British Museum; cf. *Trésor*, pl. LXII. no. 3.) Æ.

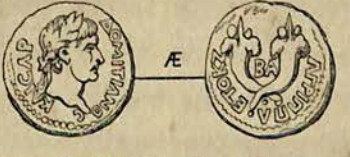
9. *Obv.* Legend and type the same as no. 8.

Rev. ΕΠΙ ΒΑϹ[ιλέως] ΑΓΡΙ[ππα]. In *field* S. C. In *exergue* ΕΤ[ους] ΚϚ. (British Museum; cf. *Trésor*, pl. LXII. nos. 4 and 5.) Æ.

We pause here to consider the very important coins, nos. 8 and 9. They are peculiar in several respects. First, they are bilingual; secondly, the word ΕΠΙ is placed before the name of the king; and thirdly, the mark of the *senatûsconsultum*, S. C., is found upon them, which three peculiarities *together* occur upon no other ancient coin. The solution of this numismatic puzzle has been investigated by one who, if anything could have been made of it, would almost certainly have discovered it. The result of his investigations is summed up in the following words, 'præstat, in tantâ caligine non ultra progredi.'[7] I also am compelled to leave the solution

[7] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 495.

to others. The great importance, however, of these coins is that they give us a fixed and certain date. The twelfth consulship of Domitian was in the year A.D. 86, and we thus gain the information that that year was the twenty-sixth year of Agrippa II. The commencement of this era would thus be in the 8th year of Nero, A.D. 61. This is the era of Tiberias.[8] As Nero presented the city of Tiberias to Agrippa II. in A.D. 55, one would have thought that the era of Tiberias would have commenced in that year. The coins are however convincing, and the reason for the era commencing in the 13th of his reign must remain unexplained. On no. 4 it will be seen that the title *Germanicus* is added to the obverse legend and that the date is ΔK (24). This is another proof of the correctness of the coins with the date KS (26). The 24th year of Agrippa II. is A.D. 84, the very year that Domitian received the above title. We thus obtain for the dates KΔ or ΔK (24), KE (25), and KS (26), the corresponding years A.D. 84, 85, and 86.[9]



10. *Obv.* ΔOMITIANOC KAICAP. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

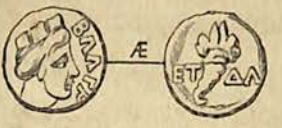
Rev. ETO[υς] KZ BA[σιλέως] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Two cornua-copiæ. (*Trésor*, pl. LXII. no. 6.) Æ.

The 27th year (KZ) of Agrippa II. corresponds to A.D.

[8] The editors of the *Trésor*, in speaking of no. 8, refer particularly to a small brass coin of Trajan with the reverse two cornua-copiæ (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 484, no. 54) struck at Tiberias, and say that from this it is easy to see the coin in question was also struck in that town. (*Trésor*, p. 129.)

[9] A coin of Domitian with the date KΓ (23 = A.D. 83), and with reverse similar to nos. 4 and 7, is given by Mionnet (vol. v. p. 574, no. 122) from Sestini.

87. There is a coin described and engraved in the *Trésor*,[10] with the date ΛΑ (31), but it is so effaced I can make nothing of it.



11. *Obv.* ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡ[*ίππα*]. Turreted head of female to the right.

Rev. ΕΤ[*ους*] ΔΛ. Cornu-copiæ. (*Trésor*, pl. LX. no. 12.) Æ. 2.

12. *Obv.* [Α*ὐτοκρ*]ΑΤΟ[*ρος*] ΔΟΜ[*ιτιανός*] Σ[*εβαστοῦ*]. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡ[*ίππα*] ΕΤ[*ους*] ΕΛ, written in two lines, within laurel wreath. (*Trésor*, pl. LXII. no. 8.) Æ. 2½.

The engraving of this coin (no. 12) is so unsatisfactory that it is impossible to reproduce it.

13. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡ[*άτωρ* Κ*αῖ*] ΣΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ[*κός*]. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥ[*ς*] ΕΛ ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ. Victory marching to the right, holding a crown in her right hand and a palm-branch on left arm. Æ. 5½.

14. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ[*τωρ*] ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ[*νός*] ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ (*sic*) ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ[*κός*]. Head of Domitian to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΕΤΟΥ[*ς*] ΕΛ ΒΑ[*σιλέως*] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ. Tur-

[10] Pl. LXII. no. 7.

reted female standing to left on the prow of a vessel, holding in right hand ears of corn (?), and in left a cornucopiæ. (British Museum.) Æ. 7.

These last two coins are published by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt from his collection.[1] The representation here given of no. 14 is from a coin in the British Museum, which is much better preserved than the coin belonging to Mr. Reichardt, and supplies the entire legend.[2] The adoption of the turreted female head on no. 11, instead of the head of the Emperor, reminds us of the coins of Agrippa II. struck at Neronias under Nero. The date, however, is sufficient proof that it must belong to the reign of Domitian. The two dates, ΔΛ (34) and ΕΛ (35), correspond to A.D. 94 and A.D. 95, and are the latest dates on the coins we possess of Agrippa II., from which it appears that he was ruling at the close of the reign of Domitian, who died in A.D. 96.

[1] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. pp. 275, 276.

[2] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. pl. vi. 6. The engraving is incorrect.

CHAPTER VI.

COINS STRUCK BY THE PROCURATORS.

After the expulsion of Archelaus the Ethnarch in A.D. 6, Coponius was made Procurator of Judæa, and accompanied Quirinus, who had been appointed Prefect of Syria, to that country. Coponius kept his appointment till A.D. 10, when he was succeeded by M. Ambivius, who remained at the head of the government till A.D. 13, and was then replaced by Annius Rufus. The next year Augustus died, and Tiberius came to the throne. He immediately superseded Rufus, and sent in his place Valerius Gratus, who remained in office till A.D. 25, when he was replaced by Pontius Pilate. The latter administered the government for ten years, but his tyranny to the Jews in permitting the Roman standards, which bore the effigy of the Emperor, to be kept in Jerusalem, and his attempting to fix his own shield on the palace itself, was the cause of complaint to Vitellius, the governor of Syria, who deprived him of his office, and sent him to Rome to answer the accusations that were brought against him (A.D. 35). Marcellus was appointed by Vitellius to succeed him. Two years afterwards Tiberius died, and Caligula succeeded him. Marullus was sent by the new Emperor to take the place of Marcellus. In A.D. 41 Caligula was assassinated and Claudius came to the throne. Agrippa I. now received the government of Judæa and Samaria, and his brother Herod was named king of Chalcis. Immediately after the death of Agrippa I.

in A.D. 44, Claudius nominated Cuspius Fadus Procurator of Judæa. In A.D. 47 Tiberius Alexander succeeded, and in A.D. 49 he was replaced by Ventidius Cumanus. A frightful tumult taking place at the Passover of this year, Cumanus was recalled, and Claudius Felix appointed in A.D. 52 in his stead. Felix was Procurator till A.D. 60, when he was recalled, and Porcius Festus succeeded him. Festus died about A.D. 62, and was succeeded by Annas, son of the Annas before whom our Lord was taken. Three months after, Annas was replaced by Albinus, one of the most unjust of the Roman Procurators, and in A.D. 65 Gessius Florus was appointed in his place. Florus was the last of the imperial Procurators, and the very worst of them, —'duravit patientia Judæis usque ad Gessium Florum,'[1] —and was the great cause of the revolt of the Jews, which ended in the taking of Jerusalem by Titus.

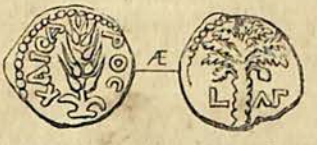
A. Reign of Augustus, from the Expulsion of Archelaus.

A.D. 6—A.D. 14.

The copper coins struck in Judæa by the Roman Procurators from the expulsion of Archelaus do not exhibit any sign or symbol that might be offensive to the religious feelings of the Jews, thus departing from the usual Roman custom, and though some of the Procurators, as in the case of Pontius Pilate, attempted to introduce images and other symbols of abhorrence to the Jews, yet they forbore from placing such emblems on the coins. This may be accounted for by the coins being under the surveillance of the Emperor and senate, whereas the actions of the Procurators could not always be looked into, and

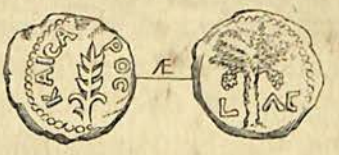
[1] Tac. *Hist.* v. 10.

they doubtless thought that they could introduce the forbidden symbols without the matter getting to the ears of the Emperor. Their folly more than once caused their recall. The coins bear, accordingly, the representation of a plant, the name of the reigning Cæsar, and the year of his reign in Greek characters.



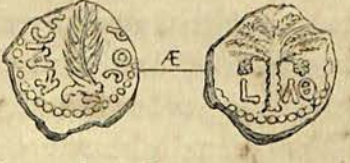
1. *Obv.* KAICAPOC. An ear of corn.

Rev. A palm-tree, from which hang bunches of dates. In *field* to right and left L.ΑΓ (year 33). (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) Æ. 3.



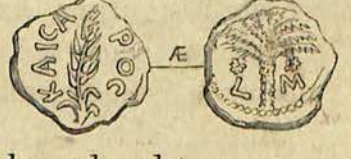
2. *Obv.* Same legend and type.

Rev. Same type. In *field* to right and left L.ΑϚ (year 36). (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 1.) Æ. 3.



3. *Obv.* Same legend and type.

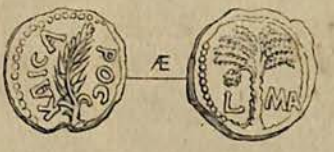
Rev. Same type. In *field* to right and left L.ΑΘ (year 39). (De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 2.) Æ. 4.



4. *Obv.* Same legend and type.

Rev. Same type. In *field* to right and left L.M. (year

40). (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 3.) Æ. 4.



5. *Obv.* Same legend and type.

Rev. Same type. In *field* to right and left L.MA. (year 41). (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 4.) Æ. 4.

De Saulcy, who has supposed that the dates on these coins are to be calculated by the 'era of Actium,' says, that the first of these coins presents a real difficulty. The numerals appear to be ΛΓ, as Eckhel has already given.[2] In the year 33 of the Actian era, Judæa was not reduced to a Roman province, and Archelaus still struck coins at Jerusalem. From this De Saulcy thinks that ΛΓ is an error, and that, instead of Γ, we should read Ϛ, which would give the 36th year of the Actian era, the year in which Coponius, the first imperial Procurator of Judæa, took possession of his post. Besides the date ΛΓ, Eckhel has given Λϵ. This piece, according to De Saulcy, is a badly preserved coin of the year ΛΘ (39). Cavedoni[3] also mentions pieces bearing the dates Λ (year 30), and ΛΔ (34), which are doubted by De Saulcy, for the reason given above. Till recently, this assumption of De Saulcy has not been contradicted. It is, however, stated by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, in a paper communicated to the *Numismatic Chronicle*,[4] that, whilst he was residing at Jerusalem, he procured two coins of Augustus, with the dates 33 and 35. He says, "the Γ on the first coin cannot

[2] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 497, and really are so. See woodcut (No. 1) and the arguments further on.

[3] *Num. Bibl.* vol. i. p. 65, vol. ii. p. 39.

[4] N.S. vol. ii. p. 271.

be mistaken. It is quite different from the Ⅽ or Ϛ, which stands for the numeral 6; there is likewise sufficient space to see that it is not the half of a Ⅽ. The other coin with the date Λϵ, is equally clear and distinct, and not, as M. de Saulcy supposes, a badly preserved piece of the year ΛΘ." A solution to this enigma is now required, and it is necessary to examine by what era these coins were struck. A competent authority, Mommsen, seems to furnish us with a fit solution. "If the numerals of these coins, so far as they were struck under Augustus, allude to the Actian era, then Cavedoni has proved beyond doubt, in opposition to De Saulcy, that the earliest of them would have occurred *before* the transformation of Judæa into a Roman Procuratorial province. But this acceptation is arbitrary and improbable, for the highest year of Augustus found on these coins is 41. We might much rather refer the era to the Roman 'anni Augustorum,' or much better to the 'anni Augusti,' which, according to Censorinus (cap. 21), began from the 1st of January 727 (B.C. 27), and in which era the year 41 coincides with 767 A.U.C. (A.D. 14), the year of the death of Augustus."[5] It will thus be seen that the highest date that could be found is[6] ΛΓ (33 = A.D. 6), the year of Archelaus' expulsion, and that 34 and 35 would be quite correct, but not, as Cavedoni has published, the numerals Λ and ΛΛ.[7] We may then conclude, that previous to Judæa being under the Procuratorial system, this coinage had not been granted.

[5] *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*, p. 719, *note* 190.

[6] Three coins of this date are stated by M. Arneth to be in the Royal collection at Vienna. (Caved. *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 40, *note* 22ª.)

[7] Cavedoni's words are, "In the Wellenheim Catalogue (nos. 6973—6974) the years Λ, ΛΛ are represented, and Lopez assures me that he has seen them on two of these small coins in the Museum of Parma." (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 40.)

As regards the type of the palm-tree on the coins above described, Cavedoni alludes to the anointing of Herod *palmetis pinguibus.*[8]

There is a coin that has been ascribed by Sestini and others to Alexandria in Egypt, but Cavedoni thinks that it is far more likely to belong to Judæa. Its description is as follows:

Obv. KAIϹAP, written between the rays of a star; under L.M. (year 40).

Rev. ϹEBAϹTOϹ written in two lines. Æ. III.

The obverse of this coin greatly resembles the coins of Alexander Jannæus, where his name is placed between the rays of a star.[9] The square Ϲ need not prove a difficulty to the attribution, for it is also found on the coins of Herod I., and his sons.[1] The star may have been the symbol of prosperity, or a representation of the star of Julius or Dionæus, which, according to the account of Virgil, shone over the head of Augustus, on the day of the battle of Actium.[2]

Cavedoni,[3] as previously stated, has ascribed to Augustus a coin with the date L. Λ, which De Saulcy[4] believes should read L. A, and be attributed to Tiberius. He imagines that it is struck in the 30th year of the Actian era, which would answer to about B.C. 1, and brings forward several interesting remarks concerning the types. Cavedoni argues that if it should be given to Tiberius, the whole name TIBEPIOϹ, or part of it, should be on the coin. He, however, notices that Mionnet has described the coin with a *legende effacée* on the reverse. It is, however, quite impossible

[8] Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2, 184. [9] See p. 66. [1] See p. 89.

[2] " Hinc Augustus agens Italos in prœlia Cæsar,
. . . . . patriumque aperitur vertice sidus."
Æn. viii. 678-681; *cf.* Dionæi Cæsaris astrum. Ecl. ix. 47.

[3] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 43 *seq.*

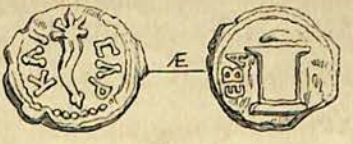
[4] *Num. Jud.* p. 111; pl. viii. 5.

that this coin can belong to Augustus, nor will it answer to the year 30 of the era of Augustus, and I do not think that any of these coins were struck before the year 33 of this era, which is equivalent to A.D. 6, the year when Archelaus was deposed, and Coponius appointed as Procurator.[5]

Further, Cavedoni attributes other similar smaller coins to Judæa, which have been generally described by numismatists as belonging to Alexandria.

1. *Obv.* KAIϹAPOϹ. Two cornua-copiæ.

Rev. ϹEBAϹTOY. An altar on which is a K (year 20). Æ. III.



2. *Obv.* KAIϹAP. Cornu-copiæ.

Rev. [Ϲ]ЄBA[ϹTOϹ]. An altar, with the date ΛH (year 38). (*Rev. Num.* 1853, pl. XI. 7). Æ. III.

3. *Obv.* KAIϹAPOΣ (*sic*), written round an altar, on which is KH (year 28).

Rev. ϹEBAϹTOV (*sic*), in two lines within a laurel-wreath. (Museum of Este.) Æ. III.

4. *Obv.* KAIϹAP in two lines, within a laurel-wreath.

Rev. ϹEBAϹTO. Trireme. (Mionnet, vol. vi. p. 49, no. 35 bis.) Æ. III.

5. *Obv.* KAIΣAPOΣ in two lines, within a laurel-wreath.

Rev. ΣEBAΣT . . . round an altar decorated with a

[5] I find that De Saulcy states (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 297) that he received first from Spain, and then from Jerusalem, several examples of this coin, and that the date is LΔ (year 4), and 'comme en pouvait le prévoir, le nom de TIBEPIOΣ s'y trouve en toutes lettres.' (See below, under Tiberius, p. 145.)

garland, between two trees. (Mionnet, vol. vi. p. 49, no. 35.) Æ. III.

Cornua-copiæ and laurel-wreaths are the usual emblems on the coins of the Asmonæans and the Herods. The *trireme* on no. 4, probably refers to the landing of Augustus on the Syrian coast in B.C. 20, when Herod I. repaired to Antioch, and afterwards accompanied him to the sea.[6] The altar between two trees (no. 5) Cavedoni thinks is the gateway of the house of Augustus to be seen on the Roman family coins of the *gens Caninia*, placed between two laurel trees.[7] L. Caninius Gallus was one of the three moneyers of Augustus in B.C. 18. It would consequently follow that this coin was struck in that year or shortly after.

These arguments are well worthy of attention, but the fabric of the coins does not seem to us to be sufficiently *Jewish* in character.

B. Reign of Tiberius.

A.D. 14—A.D. 37.

The era of the 'anni Augusti' was immediately abandoned on the accession of Tiberius.

There are coins extant of the first year of Tiberius.

1. *Obv.* ΙΟΥΛΙΑ, written within a wreath.

Rev. L. A (year 1). Diota. Æ. 3.

This piece is only known from the description of Cavedoni[8] after Mionnet.[9] It bears the name of Julia, the

[6] Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 10, 3; Dion. Cass. liv. 7.

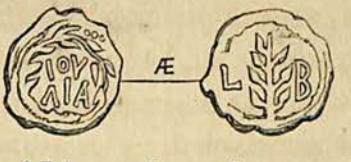
[7] Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, pl. x. 4.

[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 65; vol. ii. p. 47.

[9] *Suppl.* vol. viii. p. 377, no. 67.

mother of Tiberius, and was probably struck by the Procurator Valerius Gratus in A.D. 14.

We will now pass on to coins of the second and following years.



2. *Obv.* IOY—ΛIA, written in two lines, within a wreath.

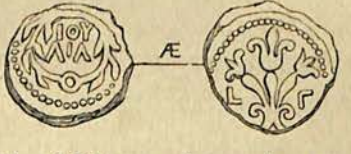
Rev. Ear of corn: in *field* to the right and to the left L. B. (year 2=A.D. 15). (De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 7.) Æ. 4.

3. *Obv.* KAI—CAP, written in two lines, within a laurel-wreath.

Rev. TIB. Two cornua-copiæ; between which L. B. (year 2=A.D. 15). Æ. 3.

This coin is described by Cavedoni[1] from the Ducal Museum at Parma.

The coins of the second year were also struck by order of Valerius Gratus.



4. *Obv.* IOY—ΛIA, written in two lines, within a wreath.[2]

Rev. A triple lily; in *field* to the right and left L. Γ (year 3=A.D. 16). (De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 8.) Æ. 4.

This threefold flower, growing from one stem, seems to

[1] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 66; vol. ii. p. 48.

[2] Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 70), suggests some connection between the name Julia or *Livia* within a *wreath*, and the Hebrew word לויה *Liviah*, a garland, or a wreath.

be a lily, but it also resembles a narcissus. Cavedoni[3] refers to the illustrations of this latter flower by Mattioli, which were drawn from nature, and says, that there is one of them (no. 8) very similar to the flower on the coin of Julia. Pliny mentions the *rubens lilium* as being renowned in Antioch and Laodicæa, in Syria, and afterwards in Phasaelis,[4] a town and fertile district which Salome, Herod's sister, left as a legacy to Julia.[5] He has though probably confounded the *rubens lilium* with the *narcissus purpureus* [*suave rubens*] of Virgil,[6] and the flower, whether a narcissus or a lily, on these coins of Julia, may refer to the valley in her possession, where very likely they flourished abundantly. Cavedoni quotes these coins of Livia, in confirmation of the translator, who explains the Hebrew word חבצלת (*Chabatzeleth*) by *narcissus*.[7]

5. *Obv.* KAICAP, written within a garland.

Rev. TIBEPIOY L.Γ (year 3 = A.D. 16). Two cornua-copiæ; between them a *caduceus*. Æ. 3.

This coin is published by the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,[8] but no engraving is given of

[3] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 50.

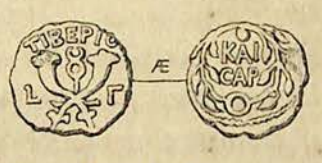
[4] Laudatissimum in Antiochiâ et Laodiceâ Syriæ, mox in Phaselide. *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 5. The town of Phasaelis was built by Herod I. in a valley north of Jericho. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 5, 2, etc.)

[5] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 2, 2. [6] *Ecl.* v. 38.

[7] This Hebrew word occurs in the Song of Solomon (ii. 1.) and Isaiah (xxxv. 1). It has sometimes been translated lily, sometimes narcissus, and sometimes rose, but I find stated in the English translation of Gesenius' Lexicon, by Dr. Tregelles, that this word is most accurately rendered by the Syriac translator (who uses the same word in its Syriac form), by *autumn crocus*, *colchicum autumnale*, or *meadow saffron*, an autumnal flower growing in meadows, resembling a crocus, of white and violet colour, growing from poisonous bulbs.

[8] N. S. vol. ii. p. 274. An example of this coin was published as long ago as 1855 by De Saulcy. (*Bull. Arch. de l'Athen. Franc.* Jan. 1855, pp. 5, 6.)

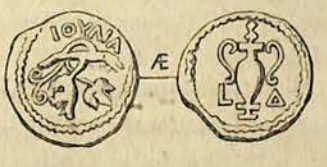
it. A similar one is communicated by Dr. Friedlaender to Werlhof's translation of Cavedoni,[9] with the difference, however, that the one at Berlin seems to be without the *caduceus*. Apparently the same coin as no. 5 was published by the Rev. Churchill Babington, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,[1] and was purchased by him at Lord Northwick's sale. I subjoin the engraving of it.



Similar coins in the British Museum, and in the collection of E. Wigan, Esq., read TIBEIPOC.

6. *Obv.* TIB—KAI—CAP, written in three lines, within a wreath.

Rev. Palm. At foot of palm to right and left L. Δ (year 4=A.D. 17). The name IOYΛIA was probably written above, but has disappeared. (De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 9.) Æ. 4.

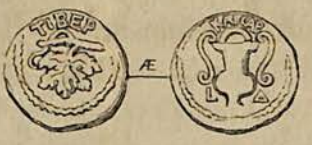


7. *Obv.* IOYΛIA, written above a vine-leaf.

Rev. Diota; in the *field* to right and left L. Δ (year 4=A.D. 17). (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 6.) Æ. 3.

[9] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 48.

[1] N. S. vol. ii. p. 67, pl. ii. no. 6.



8. *Obv.* TIBEP . . . written above a vine-leaf.

Rev. KAICAP written above a diota with lid; in *field* to right and left L. Δ (year 4=A.D. 17). (*Cf.* De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 5.) Æ. 3.

These two coins are ascribed by De Saulcy, in his *Numismatique Judaïque*,[2] to the year 1, but both the descriptions and the engravings are incorrect. A find of coins at Cadiz enabled De Saulcy to correct the descriptions he had previously given of them.[3] The first of these coins is cited by Eckhel[4] and Cavedoni,[5] with the date L. A. A coin of Julia, similar to nos. 7 and 8, but with obverse like nos. 1, 2 and 4, is also given by Cavedoni,[6] from Mionnet,[7] with the date L. Δ. I have not seen a specimen. The Diota on these coins is probably, according to Cavedoni,[8] one of the wine-cups, which Julia, with her husband Augustus, presented to the Temple at Jerusalem.[9]

9. *Obv.* TIBЄPIOY KAICAPOC CЄ. *Simpulum.*

Rev. IOYΛIA CЄ. Lily.

This coin is given by Eckhel[1] and Cavedoni,[2] and has no date. De Saulcy thinks that the piece has been

[2] Pp. 140, 141.

[3] *Bull. Archéolog. de l'Athenæum Français*, Jan. 1855, pp. 5, 6.

[4] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 498.

[5] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 65; vol. ii. p. 47; quoted by De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* p. 140.

[6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 47. [7] *Suppl.* vol. viii. p. 377, no. 68.

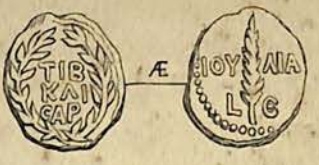
[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 49.

[9] Τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντων ἀκρατοφόρων. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 13, 6.

[1] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 497.

[2] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 65; vol. ii. p. 49.

misread, and that the letters following IOYΛIA should not be C Є but L. Є (year 5). This is most probable.



10. *Obv.* TIB — KAI — CAP, written in three lines, within a wreath.

Rev. IOY — ΛIA. A palm. In *field* to right and left L. Є (year 5 = A.D. 18). (De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 10.) Æ. 3.

11. *Obv.* IOYΛIA, written within wreath.

Rev. A triple lily. In *field* to right and left L. Ϛ (year 6 = A.D. 19).

This coin is given by Eckhel (*l. c.*) and Cavedoni (*l. c.*). De Saulcy, though not exactly doubting it, thinks that it is probably badly read, and that the date should be L. Γ (year 3).[3] This type occurs on coins of that year.

12. *Obv.* Same legend and type as no. 10.

Rev. Same legend and type as no. 10. In *field* to right and left L. IA[4] (year 11 = A.D. 24). (De Saulcy, pl. VIII. no. 11.) Æ. 3.

Eckhel[5] describes coins similar to nos. 10 and 12, with the dates L. A., Θ, IA., IΔ. Cavedoni[6] also mentions the date L. Δ. De Saulcy[7] thinks that these coins

[3] *Num. Jud.* p. 142.

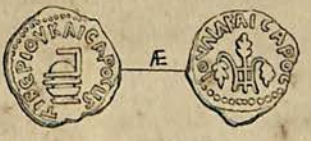
[4] A coin in the collection of E. Wigan, Esq. has the date L. AI.

[5] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 498.

[6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 66, vol. ii. p. 49. [7] *Num. Jud.* p. 144.

really bear the dates A, Є, and IA. I do not understand why he omits to allow L . Θ.

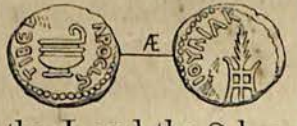
All the coins of Tiberius and Julia that we have hitherto described were struck by order of Valerius Gratus, excepting the coin with date L . IΔ, should such a coin be extant.



13. *Obv.* TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC L. IS (year 16 = A.D. 29). *Simpulum.*[8]

Rev. IOYΛIA KAICAPOC. Three ears of corn bound together. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. nos. 1 and 2.) Æ. 3.

De Saulcy possesses a piece exactly similar, except that the date reads very legibly L. S.[9] He does not, however, believe that it can possibly belong to the sixth year, but suggests that the I (*iota*) placed between the L and the S has disappeared, and that it is also a coin of the sixteenth year. Eckhel[1] and Cavedoni[2] cite coins of the same types with the years L. H and L. IA[3] (A.D. 21 and 24).



[8] Cavedoni described this object as a *capeduncula* before he had seen its true shape. He now thinks that it is certainly not a *capeduncula*, but some Jewish sacred vessel which Tiberius had himself presented to the Temple (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 51).

[9] See *Num. Jud.* pl. ix. no. 3.

[1] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 498. [2] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 49.

[3] Though Eckhel and Cavedoni have cited coins with the date L . IΔ and type, a palm, similar to the coins with dates L . Є and L . IA (nos. 10 and 12), and also with dates L . H and L . IA, and type, a *simpulum*, similar to the coins with date L . IS (no. 13), it is rather curious that none have yet been discovered; a fact which somewhat confirms the idea of De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.* p. 145), that Pilate adopted on his accession a new type, and that consequently coins do not exist of the type of the

The date L. IS (A.D. 29) corresponds to the fifth year of the government of Pontius Pilate, and this coin is struck by that infamous Procurator.

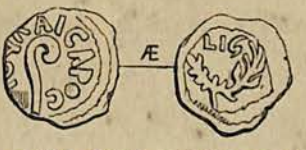
As regards the legend of this coin, Cavedoni[4] says, "Livia is here named IOYΛIA KAICAPOC, and according to Eckhel the word *μήτηρ* (mother) is understood: perhaps, however, one might suggest the word *γυνή* (wife). If the word *μήτηρ* was understood, it would be similar to the elliptic phrase *Μαρία Ἰωσῆ* in the Gospel of St. Mark (xv. 47); and if *γυνή* is understood, to the phrase *Μαριὰ ἡ τοῦ Κλώπα* (John xix. 25). The flattering senate made the proposition to Livia, *ut nomini* [*Tiberii*] *Cæsaris adscriberetur* IVLIAE FILIVS. (Tacit. *Ann.* i. 14.) Upon a stone of Carteia (Letronne, *Inscr. de l'Egypte*, t. ii. p. 370) the people honour ΛΕΙΒΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ, and upon a rare coin of Alexandria, Cleopatra is named Γ. Μ. Α. Τ. viz. *Γυνὴ Μάρκου Αὐτοκράτορος Τρίτον* (Eckhel, vol. iv. p. 23)." De Saulcy[5] prefers adopting the opinion of Eckhel, and Cavedoni, in his second volume, does not seem to hold very strongly to his first idea. To me it seems clear that the *mother* of Tiberius is intended to be commemorated on these coins, for the *wife* was left

simpulum or *lituus* previous to A.D. 26. In this case, coins with the date L. IΔ. instead of having the type of those with the date L. IA, would have the type of coins with the date L. IS, and coins with the date L. H and L. IA, instead of having the type of those with L. IS, would have types of any coin previous to A.D. 25. This theory may, however, be incorrect, for coins of all these dates could exist, and new types may not have been adopted upon the accession of a new Procurator. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 39 *seq.*) has rejected the idea that any of these coins were struck by order of the Procurators, and certainly proved as much, till Mommsen set the matter at rest (see p. 138).

[4] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 67, and *notes*.

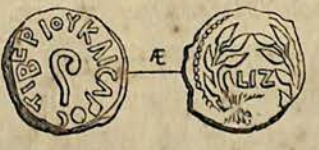
[5] *Num. Jud.* p. 145.

to die of hunger in A.D. 14, and if these coins belong to her, they were of course all struck after her death. The *mother* of Tiberius, on the other hand, lived to A.D. 29, the last year of which we possess these coins.



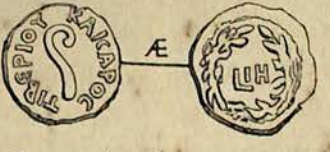
14. *Obv.* [TIBEP]IOY KAICAPOC. *Lituus.*

Rev. L. IS (year 16 = A.D. 29), written within a wreath. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. no. 5.) Æ. 3.



15. *Obv.* Same legend and type as no. 14.

Rev. L. IZ (year 17 = A.D. 30), written within a wreath. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. no. 6.) Æ. 3.



16. *Obv.* Same legend and type as no. 14.

Rev. L. IH (year 18 = A.D. 31), written within a wreath. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. nos. 4, 7.) Æ. 3.

The new type of the last three coins[6] was evidently adopted by Pontius Pilate after the death of Julia, in A.D. 29, and may have been suggested by the strong passion Tiberius is known to have had for augurs and astrologers.[7]

[6] Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 48) gives a coin of this type with the date L. IA. He also quotes one from Sestini (*Descr. Num. Vet.* p. 547, no. 7), with L. IA. I have not seen a specimen of these coins. (See *note* 3 on p. 147.)

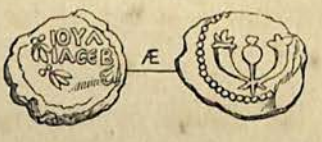
[7] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6, 9; Suet. *in Tib.* 69.

Cavedoni[8] supposes the following coin to have been struck in Judæa, on account of the similarity of the reverse type to a coin of Agrippa I.[9]

Obv. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙCΑΡΟC. . . . .

Rev. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟC. Three ears of corn growing on the same stalk. Æ. 3.

Cavedoni[1] has attributed to Julia Augusta some coins which De Saulcy[2] had ascribed to Judas Aristobulus and Antigonus. De Saulcy has read ΙΟΥΔ[3] instead of ΙΟΥΛ, and mistakes other letters, without remarking that the C for Σ, and other crescent-shaped letters, would have been incorrect at that time, as on the authentic coins of Alexander Jannæus the Σ and the E were always of regular shape. Moreover, adds Cavedoni, the inscription would have been in Hebrew, or at least bilingual, and not Greek alone.



Obv. ΙΟΥΛ—ΙΑ CЄΒ, within a wreath.

Rev. . . . . Two cornua-copiæ, between them a poppy-head (?). (De Saulcy, pl. IV. no. 1.) Æ. 3.

De Saulcy[4] is far from content with this new attribu-

[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 48.

[9] See p. 104.

[1] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. pp. 48 and 50.

[2] *Num. Jud.* pp. 102, 103.

[3] The legend as given by De Saulcy (*l. c.*) is ΙΟΥΔΑ. . ΒΑΣΙΛ? Α? This does not agree with his engraving (pl. IV. no. 1), for there the Σ in ΒΑΣΙΛ is drawn C. Mr. Poole (Art. *Money*, Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 413) adopts De Saulcy's opinion only as a 'probable attribution,' and describes the coins as "copper coins with Greek inscriptions, 'Judah the King,' and A for Antigonus?"

[4] *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 297.

tion. He says, "Je l'ai mal lue, j'en conviens sans difficulté; mais M. Cavedoni l'a encore plus mal classée." Levy[5] considers that Cavedoni's attribution rests on good grounds. As regards the types of the cornua-copiæ and laurel-wreath, similar types may be found on coins of Tiberius,[6] which is somewhat a confirmation of Cavedoni's suggestion, though we find on the coins of Tiberius a *caduceus* and not a poppy-head. It is doubtful if this coin is correctly engraved in De Saulcy.

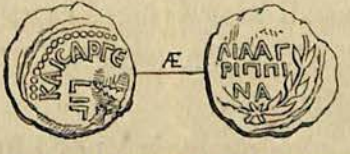
C. Reign of Caius (Caligula).

A.D. 37—A.D. 41.

Of the reign of Caligula no coins have at present been discovered. The Procurator would be Marullus, who was sent to take the place of Marcellus. There are, however, coins of Agrippa I. struck under Caligula.[7]

D. Reign of Claudius.

A.D. 41—A.D. 54.



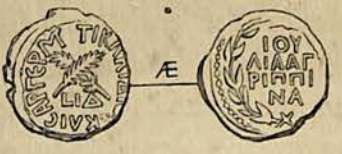
1. *Obv.* [TI . KΛΑΥΔΙΟC] KAICAP ΓЄ[PM] L.IΓ (year 13). Two palm-branches or ears of corn laid crosswise.

Rev. [IOY]—ΛIA AΓ—PIIIII—NA, written in four lines within a wreath. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. no. 9.) Æ. 4.

[5] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 76, *note* 2.

[6] See nos. 3 and 5.

[7] See p. 108.



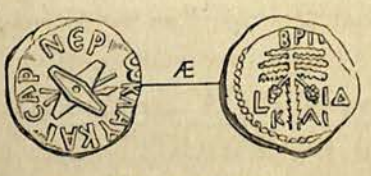
2. *Obv.* The same as no. 1, excepting the date, which is L. IΔ (year 14).

Rev. The same as no. 1. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. No. 10.)[8] Æ. 4.

The years 13 and 14 of Claudius correspond to A.D. 53 and A.D. 54, the last two years of his reign, and in A.D. 52 Felix had succeeded Ventidius Cumanus, as Procurator of Judæa.

These coins are probably the only ones which represent the family name of Agrippina II.—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ.[9]

There exist also similar pieces to those we have just described, commemorating the Cæsars Nero and Britannicus.



Obv. ΝΕΡΩ. ΚΛΑΥ . ΚΑΙCΑΡ, written round two shields and two small lances placed cross-wise.

Rev. ΒΡΙΤ . ΚΑΙ. L. IΔ (year 14). Palm-tree. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. no. 11.) Æ. 4.

This coin was also struck is A.D. 54 by the Procurator Felix.

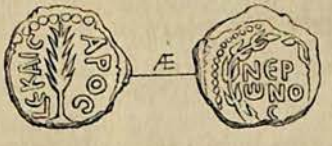
[8] This coin is engraved in Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul* (vol. i. p. 160; see also p. 138), and strangely described as illustrating the connection between Claudius and Agrippa I.!

[9] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 259. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 52, *note*) quotes an inscription of Ilium from Gruter (no. 3610), which is dedicated ΙΟΥΛΙΑι ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗι ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΗι by Claudius and his sons, the Cæsars Nero and Britannicus, probably in the year A.D. 53 or 54.

Eckhel[1] has also given the date L . IA (year 11), and Cavedoni[2] has adopted it. De Saulcy[3] considers that this variety is misread for L . IΔ. No specimens with L . IA have yet been found.

E. Reign of Nero.

A.D. 54—A D. 68.



1. *Obv.* L . Є (year 5) KAICAPOC, written on either side of a palm-branch.

Rev. NЄP—ѠNO—C, written in three lines, within a wreath. (De Saulcy, pl. IX. no. 12.) Æ. 4.

There are varieties of this coin reading NЄPONO and NЄPѠN. Other incorrect spellings are to be found on Jewish coins, ΑΓΡΙΠΑ for ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ, on coins of Agrippa I., and ΒΑCΙΛЄOC, instead of ΒΑCΙΛЄΩC, on coins of Antigonus and Agrippa II.

The year 5 of Nero corresponds to A.D. 58, the last year but two of the Procuratorship of Claudius Felix.

[1] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 498; vol. vi. p. 254.

[2] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 66; vol. ii. p. 52.

[3] *Num. Jud.* p. 150.

CHAPTER VII.

MONEY STRUCK DURING THE FIRST REVOLT OF THE JEWS.

Gessius Florus, who, as previously stated,[1] succeeded Albinus in A.D. 65, proved even a greater tyrant than his predecessor. Already, under former Procurators, had the enmity of the Jews towards their oppressors found vent in many outbreaks, which only lasted for a short time. These insurrections were always quickly subdued, and the Jews only postponed their attempts for attaining independence to a suitable time. The conduct of Florus in oppressing the people helped to increase the feeling of hostility to Rome. It was owing to certain events happening at Cæsarea, that the Jews were brought into direct hostility with Rome. Two parties laid claim to the city, the Greeks and the Jews. The claim of the former finding favour with the Romans, and the religion of the Jews having been in several instances insulted by the inhabitants of Cæsarea, the Jews broke out into open rebellion. Florus, instead of hastening to Cæsarea to quell the flame of the war, further insulted the oppressed Jews by attempting to obtain seventeen talents from the treasure in the Temple, pretending 'that Cæsar wanted them.' We must pass over briefly the account of the fearful tumult that ensued, of Queen Berenice's pleading barefoot before Florus, and only allude to the famous speech that Agrippa II. made to the Jews, entreating them to pause ere they made war with Rome. It was of no avail.

[1] See p. 135.

Hitherto it had been customary for the governor of the Temple to offer sacrifices for the welfare of the Roman Empire; but Eleazar, the son of the High-Priest Ananias,[2] refused to do so, massacred the Roman garrison, and remained master of the town for some time.[3] Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, who had already suffered one defeat at Beth-horon from Simon, son of Gioras, advanced from his camp at Scopus towards Jerusalem. The Jews rushing forth repulsed the advancing Romans, and Cestius was obliged to retire. After three days' delay, he again advanced, and the Roman army was completely defeated. This took place in A.D. 66. The part that Eleazar, son of Ananias, took in the history of which we are treating, was not of very long duration. Immediately after the defeat of Cestius Gallus, he was sent with others into Idumæa in military command, and nothing more is known of him.[4]

Already in these early struggles had Eleazar, the son of Simon, signally distinguished himself among the Zealots, and especially when he returned to Jerusalem with a great part of the treasures taken from Cestius and the Romans. Yet as he was of a tyrannical spirit, the office of governor of the city was not granted to him, but

[2] This Ananias is the High-Priest before whom St. Paul was tried, and of whom he said, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." (Acts xxiii. 3.) He was the son of Nebedæus, and was appointed to the High-Priesthood by Herod king of Chalcis, in the place of Joseph, son of Camydus. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 5, 2.) He appears to have been High-Priest with Jonathan, who was killed by order of Felix. (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 12, 6; *Antiq.* xx. 8, 5.) He must have been deposed just before the departure of Felix to Rome (*Antiq.* xx. 8, 8), and was eventually killed at the commencement of the Jewish war. (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 17, 9.) He must not be confounded with Ananias or Ananus. (See *note*, p. 158.) No distinction appears to have been made between them in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, and Kitto's *Bibl. Cyc.* (s.v. *Ananias*).

[3] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17, 2.

[4] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 4.

this post was given jointly to Joseph, the son of Gorion,[5] and Ananus the High-Priest. The Zealots, however, were devoted to Eleazar, for the "want of money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about, that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs." Generals were also chosen for the provinces, and amongst them, for the two Galilees and the city of Gamala, Josephus the Historian, who afterwards assumed the name of Flavius. He fulfilled his arduous duty with great prudence and energy, and was continually engaged in thwarting the plots of his rival John, the son of Levi, of Gischala. Josephus neglected nothing in order to place Galilee in a proper condition for resistance, but his devices—with all their ingenuity—failed to hinder the efforts of the Romans; and at last the city of Jotapata fell. On the capture of this city, A.D. 67, Josephus was taken prisoner, or rather allowed himself to be taken; and in quick succession the cities of Tiberias, Taricheæ, Gamala, and Gischala, which the above-mentioned John held in possession, also were captured.

After the fall of Gischala, John, son of Levi, escaped to Jerusalem, where he was received in the most flattering manner, for being a man of subtle powers, he soon obtained a very influential position. The character given of him by Josephus, with whom he was at enmity, is by no means favourable, and though after circumstances went far to justify the correctness of the Historian's views, it is not unlikely that personal antipathy may have sharpened his invectives. In the mean time dissensions were predominant at Jerusalem between the factions and their

[5] This Joseph, son of Gorion (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 4), is called in another place Gorion, the son of Joseph (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 3, 9). He was slain at the commencement of the tumults by the Zealots (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 6, 1).

leaders, which had no doubt contributed much to the fall of the Galilæan cities. The fugitives from these cities were very bitter against the cautious Moderate party, who were still very powerful at Jerusalem, and had banished Simon, son of Gioras, who had previously distinguished himself in the overthrow of the Romans under Cestius Gallus. He had, in consequence, with his band of robbers, taken up his abode at Acrabattine, but an army having been sent against him by Ananus, he retired and leagued himself with the robbers (*Sicarii*[6]) who had taken possession of the fortress of Masada.

Affecting to join the party of Ananus, John of Gischala was in frequent correspondence with the Zealots, who continued mercilessly to oppress the people and to make them victims of their extortions. All power in the people to resist these harpies—enemies more deadly than the Romans—seemed paralyzed, and it was not till "Gorion the son of Joseph,"[7] and Simeon, the son of Gamaliel,[8] had encouraged them, and Jesus, son of Ga-

[6] The *Sicarii* were so named from using small swords, not much different in length from the Persian *acinaces*, but somewhat crooked and like the Roman *sicæ* (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8, 10). They used to murder people in the daytime, and in the midst of the city, with daggers (ξιφίδια) which they concealed under their garments. Jonathan the High-Priest was slain by them, and they were so cunning, that when those they had stabbed fell down dead, they themselves took part in the indignation against the murderers! (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 13, 3.) They are called סקריקון and סיקרין in the Talmud. (Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 85, *note.*)

[7] See p. 156, *note.*

[8] Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, was President of the Jewish Sanhedrim. He was a friend of John of Gischala, and attempted to persuade the High-Priests, Ananus and Jesus, son of Gamala, to get rid of Josephus, but unsuccessfully (*Vita*, sect. 38 *seq.*). Nevertheless, Josephus speaks of him "as excelling others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country," and holds him up as "a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs, by his prudence,

mala, and Ananus the son of Ananus, had long and eloquently harangued them, that they were moved, and that they demanded to be led to battle against them. The result was a civil war in the city, into which the Idumæans, by request of Simon, soon entered, making the contests of the factions still more dreadful. Ananus, against whom the animosity of the Zealots was particularly directed, was slain,[9] and a general massacre of the people followed. With the death of Ananus, of whose justice and vigilance Josephus speaks in high terms, all hopes of peace died out. At length the Idumæans left the city, and the Zealots, who now found themselves masters, did not cease to practise their iniquities. While the Holy City was the scene of continual and fatal dissensions, and the Romans were advancing to subdue it, another enemy appeared, in the person of Simon, son of Gioras. As cruel, as relentless as John of Gischala, he was, however, a man of less ability. He had, during the insurrection in

when they were in an ill posture" (*δυνάμενός τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα φρονήσει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διορθώσασθαι. Vit. l. c.*). His father Gamaliel was the celebrated Jewish doctor, 'the Beauty of the Law,' and grandson of Hillel. He it was who pleaded the cause of St. Peter and the other Apostles (Acts v. 34—40), and was the preceptor of St. Paul (Acts xxii. 3). He is said to have died eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem. His son Simeon, of whom we here speak, perished in the ruins of the city. For further particulars about Gamaliel and his teaching, *see* Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 69 *seq.*

[9] Ananus the son of Ananus (or Ananias, Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9, 2; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 12, 6), is probably the High-Priest who was accused before Agrippa II. of the murder of James the Just, and deprived at that time of the priesthood (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9, 1). He must, however, in the constant changes have been re-appointed, as we find him High-Priest and governor of the city (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 3), and, with Jesus, son of Gamala, the most esteemed of the High-Priests (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 3, 9). He is said to have plotted with John of Gischala against Josephus (*Vita*, sect. 38). His speech to the people is given in Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 3, 10); and his death, together with Jesus, the son of Gamala, in *Bell. Jud.* iv. 5, 2.

Jerusalem, collected a considerable army, and encamping before its walls made war upon the city from without, as John of Gischala within. To quote the words of Milman,[1] 'those who stayed were tyrannised over by John, those who fled massacred by Simon.' The party of John, however, soon divided, and the Idumæans and Zealots were again quarrelling. Dreading the power of the latter, the Idumæans assembled a council of the chief priests, at which it was resolved that Simon should be invited to enter the city, even though they introduced 'a second tyrant' within its walls. Accordingly Simon granted them 'his lordly protection,' and entered Jerusalem. The people, upon this, made joyful acclamations and hailed him as their deliverer and preserver. It was about this time that Galba, after the death of Nero, was saluted as Emperor, but before he could establish himself, he was murdered, and Otho, who had opposed him, committed suicide. The German legions then set up Vitellius, whilst the legions at Alexandria named their general Vespasian. Vitellius was killed, and Vespasian was decreed by the Senate Emperor at Rome. Amidst such fluctuating circumstances, Vespasian did not think it adviseable to prosecute the war against the Jews, but dispatched his son Titus to effect the conquest of the capital of Palestine, and so complete the subjugation of the entire country.

In the city there were now three great factions, headed respectively by Eleazar, John of Gischala, and Simon, son of Gioras. Eleazar still held his position in the Temple, while John of Gischala remained in the Tower of Antonia. Simon, whose head-quarters were in the Tower Phasaelus, held the district north of the Temple. While John enjoyed an advantage over Simon, Eleazar enjoyed a similar advantage over John. It is worthy of

[1] *History of the Jews*, vol. ii. p. 360.

remark, that while the contests of these three factions were raging in Jerusalem, the usual sacrifices were being made upon the altar in the Temple, and that the inhabitants and even strangers still wended their way thither, praying and sacrificing as of yore, though their devotions were interrupted by the stones and arrows which the contending parties were discharging at each other. John at last obtained possession of the Temple by stratagem, and, assassinating Eleazar, thus reduced the factions to two.

It is scarcely to be wondered at, that the intestine troubles at Jerusalem made many pray for the speedy arrival of the Romans. At last, in the spring of A.D. 70, Titus arrived before Jerusalem, thus compelling the two leaders to lay aside their mutual animosities, and to join in opposing their common enemy. The Romans gradually advanced the work of the siege. The Jews abandoned the first wall; the second was then lost and regained. Still the heights of Sion, the Antonia and the Temple, seemed impregnable. But there was another enemy at work in the city, whose stealthy progress helped to accomplish the work which the legions of Titus had yet failed to do. The dearth of provisions, from which the inhabitants had been suffering, had at last ended in famine. The details of this part of the siege are frightful, and are well-known. When the siege had proceeded some little time, Titus tried to persuade the inhabitants to surrender, but his offers were rejected and the siege was again renewed. The Antonia was at length taken; and eventually the Temple, the Jews fighting desperately, contesting the ground inch by inch. It was against the wish of Titus that the Temple should be destroyed, but a Roman soldier thrusting a brand between the hinges of one of its doors, it was soon one mass of flames. A fearful carnage ensued; the treasures were plundered and destroyed, and the fury of the Roman soldiers, as they ran through the

city, slaying indiscriminately all who came in their way, was unbounded.

The two leaders, John of Gischala and Simon son of Gioras, fled for awhile from the Romans. John, pressed by hunger, soon delivered himself up, and his life was spared. Simon son of Gioras was less fortunate, and to complete the triumph of Titus was carried to Rome, exhibited at the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and executed near the Forum.[2] Thus fell Jerusalem, and, to use the words of Josephus, "the whole of it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that no one visiting it would believe it had ever been inhabited."[3]

A. Eleazar.

For the time of the Revolt under Nero, Cavedoni and De Saulcy have published only two brass coins, which are described below.[4] But is it not rather remarkable that the *four years* of the Revolt, during which time Jerusalem was continuously in the hands of the Jews (from the year A.D. 66—A.D. 70), should be so totally barren of Jewish numismatic history? Fortunately, the discovery of De Vogüé[5] has supplied this deficiency, and though he has not obtained

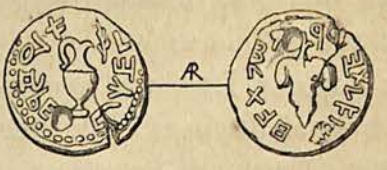
[2] Βαργιορᾶς ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν· καὶ μόνος γε οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐπινικίοις ἐκολάσθη. Dion. Cass. lxvi. 7; *cf.* Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5, 6.

[3] *Bell. Jud.* vii. 1, 1. Josephus says that 97,000 were carried captive during the war and that 1,100,000 perished during the siege (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9, 3), besides the 40,000 who were allowed to go where they pleased (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 8, 2). These numbers amount to 1,237,000. It is certain that Josephus has much exaggerated, and that, taking the extreme, there may have been 60,000 or 70,000 in the city when Titus came against it. (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 1025.)

[4] See the two copper coins ascribed to the Supreme Authority, at the end of section C. p. 180.

[5] *Rev. Numismatique*, 1860, p. 280 *seq.*

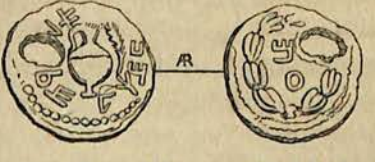
as many results from the coins of Eleazar[6] as he might have done, this task has been undertaken by Levy, who has certainly made great advancement in the history of later Jewish numismatics.



1. *Obv.* אלעזר הכוהן[7], *Eleazar Hakkohen.* "Eleazar the High-Priest." Vase; in *field* to right a palm-branch.

Rev. שנת אחת לגאלת ישר[אל], *Shenath Achath Ligullath Isr[ael].* "First year of the redemption of Israel." Cluster of grapes. (*Rev. Num.* 1860, pl. XIII. no. 1.) AR. 4.

A similar coin to this had already been published by De Saulcy (pl. XII. no. 7), but without the specimen above given it was impossible to decipher it with accuracy. But by comparing the inscriptions, there is not the slightest doubt of the accuracy of the readings.



2. *Obv.* אל[עז]ר הכוהן, *Eleazar Hakkohen.* "Eleazar the High-Priest." Vase; in *field* to right a palm-branch.

[6] De Vogüé (*l.c.*) has seen that only Eleazar, son of Simon, and not his cotemporary, Eleazar, son of Ananias, could have struck coins, as the latter's *rôle* was only of short duration (see p. 155).

[7] The *Vau* in this word is remarkable, as it does not occur upon the earlier coins. On the copper coins, the word is written without the *Vau* (see below, p. 164).

Rev. [ש]מע[ון]. *Simon*, within a wreath. (*Rev. Num.* 1860, pl. XIII. no. 2; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. XII. no. 7.[8])
AR. 4.

The vase and palm-branch[9] on these coins are supposed by Levy to bear some resemblance to a coin of Herod I. It has, however, most probably been badly described. (See p. 90, no. 15.)

These silver coins of Eleazar throw a great deal of light on the curious copper coins which have so long been an enigma. De Saulcy[1] speaks of them as decidedly unreadable, on account of the letters being cast here and there over the *field* of the piece. Perez Bayer[2] published two coins of the same class, and thought that they were formed of letters composing a secret alphabet, though De Saulcy does not agree in this hypothesis. The description of these coins is as follows:

[8] Both De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.* p. 163) and De Vogüé (*Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 282, *note*) consider this a forged specimen, manufactured in imitation of a genuine one. De Vogüé thinks that the forger has copied the two sides from two different coins, one of Eleazar's and one of Simon's, as he has taken the obverse from one and the reverse from the other. Levy, however, suggests (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 89, *note* 2) that a coin may have existed with Eleazar's name on one side, and Simon's on the other, and that it was in reality stamped when the two leaders were at peace, and stamped joint coins, and that this one may have been forged from one of these.

[9] Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 135) suggests that the vase and palm-branch, which types occur also on coins of Simon, son of Gioras (see below), bear some connection to a ceremony in the Temple, with the sprinkling of water, which took place every day, but on the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles was solemnly celebrated with illuminations. A golden pitcher, filled with three Log (a Log equals the contents of six eggs, Gesen. *Thes.* s.v. לג), was filled from the spring of Siloam, and when the priests arrived with it at the Water-Gate, they blew jubilant strains, etc.

[1] *Num. Jud.* pp. 167—168; *cf.* pl. XIII. no. 7.

[2] *De Num. Hebræis*, p. 65, pl. I. nos. 4, 5; *cf.* p. 155.

3. *Obv.* רזע – לא / וה – כה *i.e.* *Eleazar Hakkohen.* "Eleazar the High-Priest," written backwards, in two lines on either side of a palm-tree.

Rev. שנת אחת לגאלת ישר[אל], *Shenath Achath Ligullath Isr[ael]*. "First year of the redemption of Israel." A cluster of grapes. (*Rev. Num.* 1860, pl. XIII. 3, 4.)[3] Æ. 4.

Levy attributes to Eleazar the shekels of the first and second year, given by De Saulcy[4] to Simon Bar-cochab, at the commencement of the insurrection which placed him at the head of the Jewish nation. Levy at the same time throws out the suggestion that they were struck under the authority of the Sanhedrim.[5]

Obv. ירושלם, *Jerusalem.* A tetrastyle temple.

Rev. שנת אחת לגאלת ישראל, *Shenath Achath Ligullath Israel.* "First year of the redemption of Israel." *Ethrog* and *Lulab.*[6] (De Saulcy, pl. XI. no. 1.) AR. 7.

[3] These coins of Eleazar have been briefly noticed by the Rev. H. J. Rose, in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* (s.v. *Shekel*), and he has been peculiarly infelicitous in their description. No. 1 is stated to be of *copper*, whereas it is of *silver*, and no. 3 is described as *silver*, and said to have been first published by Reichardt, whereas it is of *copper*, and was first published by De Saulcy as unreadable, and afterwards by De Vogüé as belonging to Eleazar.

[4] *Num. Jud.* pp. 158—159, pl. XI. nos. 1, 3.

[5] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 91. *Cf.* Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 5. See p. 179.

[6] These both occur on the coins of Simon Maccabæus (p. 47 ; *cf.* p. 50). The *Ethrog alone* is only found on his coins (p. 47, no. 9).

The pieces of the second year are similar in types to those of the first, only the reverse inscription is שב לחר ישראל, *Schin beth (= shenath shethaim) Lacher*[*uth*] *Israel* [חר abbreviated for חרות]. "The second year of the deliverance of Israel." This legend has been restored by De Vogüé,[7] who says that the representation of this coin given in De Saulcy is incorrect.[8]

These coins are somewhat similar, both in legends and types, to the coins of the Maccabæan princes, yet their fabric, which is of much later workmanship than that of Simon, shows that they must not be attributed to the Maccabees.[9] Levy says, 'the representation of the Temple on coins which Eleazar struck, as chief of the sanctuary, is not out of place. Generally speaking, the Temple is a suitable symbol of this period, as the last Palladium around which men rallied, and its representation on these shekels can thus be explained.'[10]

[7] *Rev. Num. Franc.* 1860, p. 287, *note.*

[8] Pl. XI. no. 3. De Saulcy speaks of this coin as doubtful (*Num. Jud.* p. 159), and I should be inclined to agree with him from the fact that it bears the word [ות]לחר, instead of לגאלת, as upon the similar coins of the first year. This observation, however, must not be considered as conclusive, as upon a copper coin of Simon Nasi of the first year, we find לגאלת, and upon a similar one of the second year לחרות. (See below, under Simon Nasi, nos. 2 and 3, p. 177.)

[9] The reason that Levy would attribute the shekels of the first year to Eleazar, rather than to Simon, son of Gioras, or to Simon Barcochab, is that they bear a similar legend to the coins of the first year of Eleazar. The legend on them is לגאלת ישראל, "Of the redemption of Israel." (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 120.) The shekels with a star have not only the name, "Simon," but, instead of לגאלת, 'of the redemption,' the form לחרות, "of the deliverance," which is not found on the coins of Eleazar.

[10] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 92. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 65) thinks that the obverse type of these shekels represents the *Sacrarium* of a Jewish synagogue, the middle being the *aron*, or ark, containing the rolls of the sacred books.

The shekel engraved above and now attributed by Levy to Eleazar and the Sanhedrim, was proposed by De Vogüé[1] to be given to Simon, son of Gioras, and struck A.D. 66—67, although he was not master of Sion till the third year of the war.[2] The four copper coins, also, with the legend, "Simon, Prince of Israel," and given by De Saulcy[3] to Simon Bar-cochab, De Vogüé suggests might also belong to this same Simon, though he prefers, "notwithstanding the difference of style that they present to the small coins of the Asmonæans, to restore them to Simon Maccabæus," and considers them "as the models imitated, first more exactly by Eleazar, and then more freely by Bar-cochab, to recall their glorious souvenirs." This last suggestion is not likely to meet with much consent, and they are all four attributed by Levy to Simon Nasi.[4]

The reverse type of these shekels of the *Ethrog* and the *Lulab* reminded the Jews of the Feast of Tabernacles. This festival happened to take place at the beginning of the first Jewish war.[5] Cavedoni[6] observes that the *Ethrog* placed on the left shows that the *Lulab* should be carried in the right hand, and the fruit in the left.

B. Simon, son of Gioras.

Simon, son of Gioras, struck money with types exactly the same or similar to those of Eleazar.

[1] *Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 289.

[2] Ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9, 12.

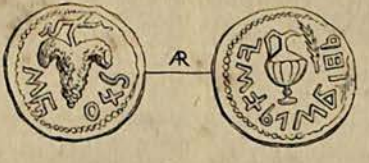
[3] *Num. Jud.* pl. XI. no. 2; XIII. no. 8; XIV. nos. 2, 3.

[4] See section C. Coins of Simon, son of Gamaliel.

[5] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 19, 1, 2.

[6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 66; see p. 50 of our work.

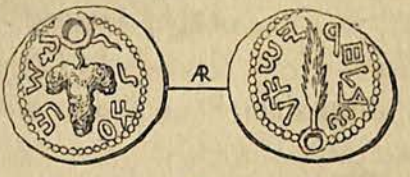
1. *Obv.* שמנעו,[7] *Simon*, within a wreath.
Rev. לחר[ו]ת [י]רושלם, *Lacher*[*u*]*th* [*Je*]*rusalem*. "The deliverance of Jerusalem." A pitcher and palm-branch. (De Saulcy, pl. XII. no. 4.) AR. 4.



2. *Obv.* שמעון, *Simon*. Cluster of grapes.

[7] This word should be written שמעון; but similar transpositions are frequent on the coins of Simon. Of the five coins given by De Saulcy in pl. XII. two (nos. 3 and 5) read שמענו, two (nos. 4 and 6) read שמנעו, and one (no. 7) has only the two letters מע remaining. A specimen in Mr. Wigan's cabinet, similar to the one here engraved, has שמנעו, with the ו (*Vau*), a form occurring on some of the copper coins. (See the one engraved below, no. 12, and De Saulcy, pl. XIV. nos. 7, 8, 9.) I have only noticed it on three other silver coins, one (no. 2) of Simon, son of Gioras, and the two others which are both in the British Museum, (no. 3) of Simon, son of Gioras, and no. 3 of Simon Bar-cochab. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 60, *note* 34) presumes that the coiner made use of moveable metal letters in the preparation of the die, as we know that the ancients used moveable letters of boxwood and ivory to teach children their alphabet. (Quintil. *Inst.* i. 2.) De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.* p. 163) observes on these coins: "Three of these coins, which come from Jerusalem, are evidently forged with much skill in imitation of an ancient specimen; they all three have a hole in the same place, and offer the same traces of a legend, which appears to be ISV. IASASIAN? and in which the name of Vespasian may be recognised. The original of the piece was then struck on a *denarius* of Vespasian. Villalpandus (*Appar. Urb.* t. iii. p. 381) has published this coin, and after him Bayer (p. 29, *note* 38)." The one engraved above has, however, no traces of recoining, and Levy assigns it to Simon, son of Gioras. The other pieces belong to Ben-Kosiba (Bar-cochab).

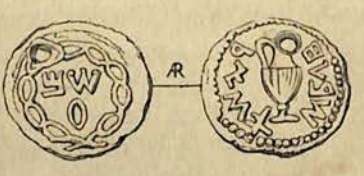
Rev. (*sic*) ישארל שב לחו[ות], *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim*) *Lacher*[*uth*] *Isarael* (for *Israel*). "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." A pitcher and palm-branch. (De Saulcy, pl. XIV. no. 5.) AR. 4.



3. *Obv.* שמעון, *Simon.* Cluster of grapes.

Rev. (*sic*) ישאל שב לחר[ות], *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim*) *Lacher*[*ruth*] *Isael* (for *Israel*). "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch. (British Museum.) AR. 4.

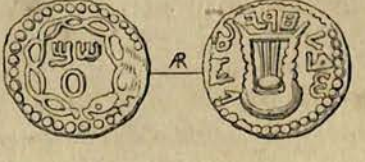
There is also a coin of the second year, published by Reichardt,[8] which is very similar to no. 1, which is without date.



4. *Obv.* שמע[ון], *Simon*, within a wreath.

Rev. (*sic*) ישא שב לחר[ות], *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim*) *Lacher*[*uth*] *Isa* (*Israel*). "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Pitcher and palm-branch. (?) AR. 4.

Another coin of the second year is also published by Reichardt,[9] with the type of the three-stringed lyre.



5. *Obv.* שמע[ון], *Simon*, within a wreath.

[8] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 276, no. 21; pl. VI. no. 7.

[9] *Num. Chron. l. c.* no. 24; pl. VI. no. 8.

Rev. שב לחר[ות] ישראל, *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim*) *Lacher*[*uth*] *Israel.* "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." A three-stringed lyre. AR. 4.

In assigning these coins of the 'second year' to Simon, son of Gioras, Dr. Levy lays himself open to objections. Is it not directly contrary to the account of Josephus, according to which Simon, son of Gioras, did not enter Jerusalem until the *third* year, that his coins date from the *second?*[1] Levy, however, has supplied a ready answer.[2] "Is it necessary to presuppose the presence of coinage in the capital city? The epoch of the 'Liberation of Israel,' or the 'Freedom of Israel' or 'Jerusalem,' was certainly one which was universally acknowledged and spread abroad, and may have been valid both within and without Jerusalem. Could not Simon strike coins also in Acrabattine, in Masada, or Hebron, or else in some part of Idumæa, where he had established a firm footing, and could not these coins be stamped with the legends, 'The freedom of Israel' or 'of Jerusalem?' From the first victory of the Jews over the Romans under Cestius Gallus, this dauntless leader was constantly in activity; he had collected rich treasures from his plundering wars, and independent as he was, he could without doubt strike coins, of an exactly similar kind to those of Eleazar *in* Jerusalem, whilst he was still *outside* that city."

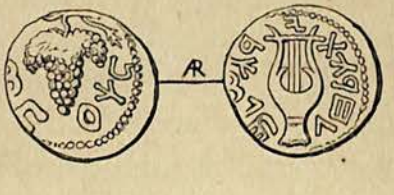
No coins of Simon have, however, been discovered with dates higher than "the year two," thus agreeing with the time of his government in Jerusalem, which did not extend over two years,—viz. A.D. 69 and A.D. 70. The coins, then, *without* the mark of the year belong to the

[1] Σίμων μὲν οὕτως ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου Ξανθικῷ μηνὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9, 12.

[2] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 119.

first year of his entry into Jerusalem. They bear the name Simon, and the legend לחרות ירושלם, "of the deliverance of Jerusalem." Those of the *second* year have the legend לחר ישראל, "of the deliverance of Israel."

The type of the three-stringed lyre (without the year), also occurring again restruck at the time of Bar-cochab, may be found on extant specimens, bearing no traces of recoining, and therefore probably belong to Simon, son of Gioras. The following is a specimen:—



6. *Obv.* שמעון, *Simon.* Cluster of grapes.
Rev. לחרות ירושלם, *Lacheruth Jerusalem.* A three-stringed lyre. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) AR. 4.

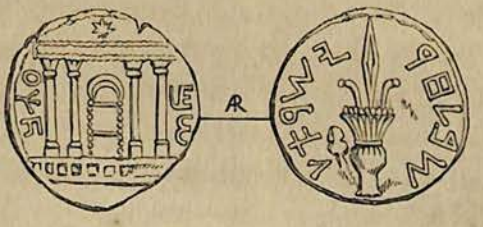
Levy attributes to Simon the shekels which exactly correspond to those described above, and which are given to Eleazar or struck by the Supreme Authority.[3] The only difference is that above the temple there is a star. Their weight exactly corresponds. They are described by De Saulcy,[4] and attributed by him to Simon Bar-cochab.

7. *Obv.* שמעון, *Simon.* Tetrastyle temple; above, a star.

[3] See p. 165, *note* 9.

[4] Pl. XI. no. 4; XIV. no. 4.

Rev. לחרות ירושלם, *Lacheruth Jerusalem.* "The deliverance of Jerusalem." *Ethrog* and *Lulab.* (De Saulcy, pl. XI. no. 4.) AR. 7.



8. *Obv.* שמעון, *Simon.* Tetrastyle temple; above, a star.

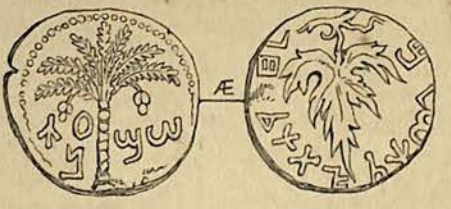
Rev. שב לחר[ות] ישראל, *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim*) *Lacher*[*uth*] *Israel.* "Year two of the deliverance of Israel." *Ethrog* and *Lulab.* (De Saulcy, pl. XIV. no. 4.) AR. 7.

It is excessively doubtful if these shekels belong to Simon, son of Gioras. In the first place, the star above the temple, would seem to bear allusion to the name of Bar-cochab (בר כוכב, son of a star). In the second place, these coins are also found restruck at the time of the second revolt on a tetradrachm of Antioch. They are sometimes found with the letters NOC, and it has been supposed that NOC is the last syllable of OYECΠA-CIANOC, and that the shekel of the Kircher Museum was struck during the First Revolt. But this seems hardly probable, as Cavedoni has already observed,[5] for the tetradrachm of Antioch of the *first year* of Vespasian could not have been struck at soonest before July of the year 69, and one can hardly suppose them to have been restruck by the Jews, who were still fighting at the close of the same year.

There are also copper coins which may be attributed to

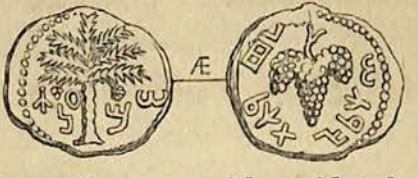
[5] *Nuovi Studi sopra le Antiche Monete Giudaiche,* pp. 28, 29.

Simon, son of Gioras, with types somewhat similar to those of Eleazar.



9. *Obv.* שמעון, *Simon*, on either side of a palm-tree.

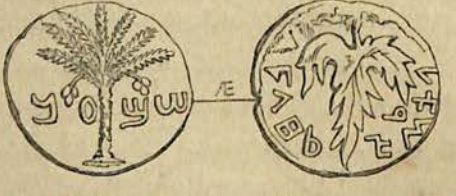
Rev. לחרות ירושלם, *Lacheruth Jerusalem.* "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Vine-leaf. (De Saulcy, pl. XII. no. 10.)[6] Æ. 6.



10. *Obv.* שמעון, *Simon*, on either side of a palm-tree.

Rev. [לם]לחרות ירוש, *Lacheruth Jerusa*[*lem*]. "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Cluster of grapes. (De Saulcy, pl. XIII. no. 4.)[7] Æ. II.

Coins with similar types to no. 9, bear the date of the second year.



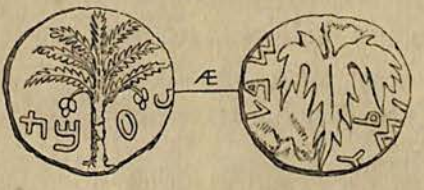
11. *Obv.* שמען (for שמעון), *Simon*, on either side of a palm-tree.

Rev. שב לחר[ות] ישראל, *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath She-*

[6] *Cf.* De Saulcy, pl. XII. nos. 9—12; XIII. nos. 1—2.

[7] A similar but smaller piece is given also by De Saulcy (pl. XIII. no. 5). On the obverse, שמענו on either side of a date-tree. The reverse, according to the description of De Saulcy (*Num. Jud.* p. 165), is unreadable, but according to the plate can be read [לם]לחרות ירוש. There is a coin very like this one in the cabinet of Mr. Wigan.

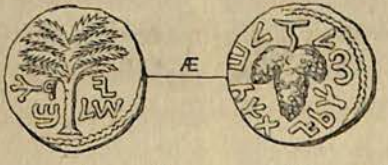
thaim) *Lacher*[*uth*] *Israel.* "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Vine-branch. (De Saulcy, pl. XIV. no. 6.) Æ. 6.



12. *Obv.* שעמו[8] (for שמעון), *Simon*, on either side of a palm-tree.

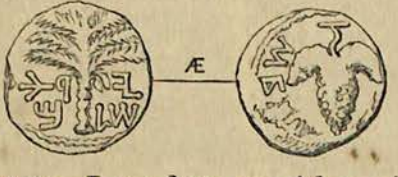
Rev. [ש]ב ל[חרות] ישרא[ל], *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim*) *L*[*acheruth*] *Isra*[*el*]. Vine-leaf. (De Saulcy, pl. XIV. no. 9.) Æ. 6.

Reichardt[9] has published two copper coins very similar to no. 10.



13. *Obv.* ירושלם, *Jerusalem*, on either side of a palm-tree.

Rev. לחרות ירושל[ם], *Lacheruth Jerusal*[*em*]. Cluster of grapes. Æ. 4.



14. *Obv.* ירושלם, *Jerusalem*, on either side of a palm-tree.

[8] Two coins on pl. XIV. of De Saulcy (nos. 7 and 8) read שמעון. Three of the four on pl. XV. (nos. 1, 3, 4) read שעמ, and the fourth (no. 2), שמע. No. 2 also has on the reverse שיראל for ישראל. The shape of the *Vau* (ח) on nos. 7, 8, 9, in pl. XIV. is worthy of notice. It also occurs on some silver coins. (See *note*, p. 167.)

[9] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 276, nos. 19, 26.

Rev. [לחרות ישראל] שב, *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim* [*Lacheruth Israel*]. "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Cluster of grapes. Æ. 4.

Levy[1] does not believe that the first of these coins (no. 13), is *genuine*. He also thinks the same of a *silver* coin published by Reichardt (no. 20).

15. *Obv.* שא לחר ישראל, *Schin Aleph* (= *Shenath Achath*) *Lacher*[*uth*] *Israel*. "First year of the deliverance of Israel." Lyre with three strings.

Rev. ..... יש ..... שנת אחת לג, *Shenath Achath L*[*igullath*] *Is*[*rael*]. "First year of the deliverance of Israel." Cluster of grapes. AR. 4.

This forgery seems to have been made up from two specimens, and it is not improbable that the obverse legend never existed, especially as we know that the coins of Simon have his name (without the mark of the year) and 'the deliverance of Jerusalem,' and those of the *second year*, 'the deliverance of Israel.'[2]

C. Simon, son of Gamaliel, and the Supreme Authority.

Those coins which have for their inscription the full title, 'Simon Nasi Israel,' and which De Vogüé proposed to restore to Simon Maccabæus,[3] are ascribed by Levy to the Head of the Sanhedrim, Simon, son of Gamaliel, who conformably with his position bore the title of 'Nasi,' a title which in earlier times was used by Kings, heads of clans and families, but which in later times occurs only with the Synhedrial authority. He was, as above stated,[4]

[1] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 96.

[2] See p. 169.

[3] See p. 166.

[4] See p. 157, *note* 8.

the son of one who enjoyed a high reputation for virtue and scholarship. His dignity as Nasi, as well as that of his ancestors, was dated, according to the Talmud, from a very early period,[5] and he appears to have enjoyed, under more difficult circumstances, almost as great a reputation as his father. "Why then should not the supreme political power also have made use of their privilege to coin money, and that too stamped with the name of their President Simon (ben Gamliel) Nasi Israél?"[6] "For it cannot well be imagined that the Supreme Authority, the provisional government or Synhedrium, which possessed the highest power, should not have exercised the right of coining money after the expulsion of the Romans from Jerusalem. The coins of that kind are, according to our opinion, those which are inscribed with the name of the Synhedrial President (Nasi), and certainly belong to the first two years of the revolt. Only copper coins of Simon Nasi have come to our knowledge, and if the silver tetradrachms have not emanated from the same source, the Senate of Israel may in this respect have imitated the Roman, who reserved to themselves the right of issuing the copper coinage."[7] "A sure indication towards the clearing up of these difficulties will be given, when a complete specimen is discovered of the defective coin which was first published by De Saulcy."[8]

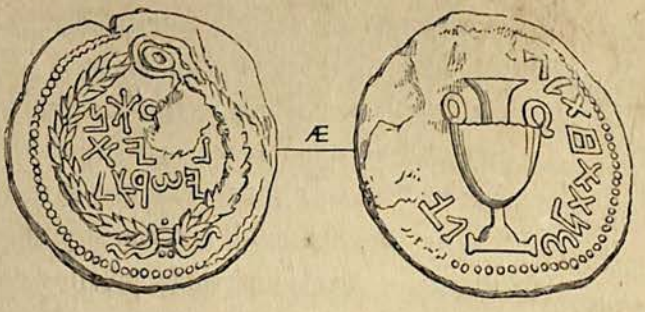
Remarkable for its large size is a brass coin in the coin-cabinet at Paris.

[5] Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 125.

[6] Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, *l. c.*

[7] Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 97.

[8] Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 126. See below, *sect.* D. p. 182.



1. *Obv.* שמ[עון]
נ[ש]יא
ישראל

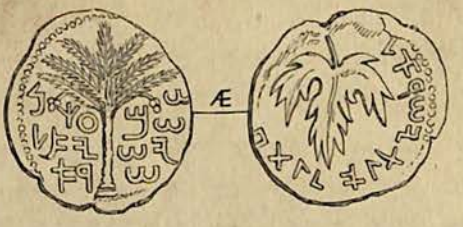
Simon Nasi Israel. "Simon Prince of Israel," written in three lines within a laurel-wreath adorned with a gem.

Rev. שנת אחת לג[אלת ישר]אל, *Shenath Achath Lig[u-llath Isr]ael.* "First year of the redemption of Israel," written round a vase with two handles. (De Saulcy, pl. XIII. no. 8.)[9] Æ. 10.

This extraordinary piece is probably struck on a large brass Roman coin, but there are no traces of any original letters. It differs from all the other known Jewish coins.

The next coins have the well-known type of the vine-leaf and palm, the latter of which we have seen on the coins of Eleazar, and both on those of Simon, son of Gioras.

[9] Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 58, *note*) notices the form of the ו (*Vau*) in the name of Simon. It is probably not found on any other Jewish coin, and as it resembles a star with six rays (✳), he says that it may allude to Simon's second name of *Kôkab* or *Bar-Kôkab*. I have, however, seen a cast of this coin, and the *Vau* on it is not represented as a star with six rays, which Cavedoni has taken from De Saulcy's plate, where it is erroneously engraved. The form on the original coin is ⅄.



2. *Obv.* שמ עון
[נ]ש יא
יש ראל

Simon Nasi Israel.[1] "Simon Prince of Israel," written on either side of a palm-tree.

Rev. שנת א[חת לגאלת ישראל], [*Shenath A*]*chath Ligullath Israel.* "First year of the redemption of Israel." Vine-leaf. (De Saulcy, pl. XIV. no. 2.) Æ. II.

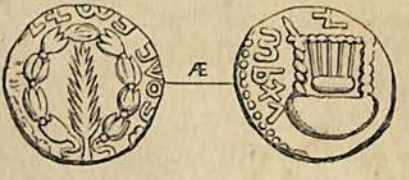
3. *Obv.* The same as the previous coin.

Rev. [שב לח[ר]ו[ת] ישרא[ל], *Schin Beth* (= *Shenath Shethaim*) *Lach*[*er*]*u*[*th*] *Isra*[*el*]. "Second year of the deliverance of Israel." Vine-leaf. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; De Saulcy. pl. XIV. no. 1.) Æ. II.

Respecting the classification of the copper coins with the lyre, upon which it is said that the legend שמעון נשיא ישראל, "Simon Nasi Israel" can be read, it is necessary to say a few words. And first I will describe the two specimens I have seen.

[1] On this coin there is a *schin* too much, probably by an oversight of the engraver. The obverse of the following coin (De Saulcy, pl. XIV. no. 1) is correct.

1. *Obv.* שמעון ..... ראל. Palm-branch within a wreath.
Rev. שנת אחת לגאלת יש..ל. Lyre with six strings.
(British Museum.)[2] Æ. 6.



2. *Obv.* שמעון נשיא ..... Palm-branch within a wreath.
Rev. ישראל ... Lyre of same shape, but with five strings. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) Æ. 4½.

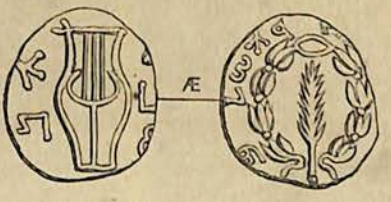
From a specimen in the cabinet of M. de Vogüé, which is said to give the legend very clearly,[3] these coins should be read שמעון נשיא ישראל, "Simon Nasi Israel." In consequence of these coins having the title *Nasi*, Levy has attributed them to Simon Nasi, President of the Sanhedrim. To this attribution I see no serious objection, for if we assign them either to Simon, son of Gioras, or to Simon Bar-cochab, then surely all with the title *Nasi* must also be given to one of these leaders.

But to whom are we to attribute similar copper coins also with the lyre—but a lyre of a totally different shape—and a palm-branch within a wreath? Their description is as follows:—

[2] *Cf.* De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* pl. XI. no. 2.

[3] *Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 288. De Vogüé wishes to restore them to Simon Maccabæus! (See coins of Eleazar, p. 166.)

1. *Obv.* שמעון, on either side of a three-stringed lyre.
Rev. .....לח. Palm-branch, within a wreath.
(British Museum.) Æ. 4.



2. *Obv.* Same legend and type.
Rev. רושלם[י] ..... Palm-branch, within a wreath.
(British Museum.) Æ. 4.

The specimen of these two coins last-described in De Saulcy[4] furnishes us with the word לחרות in full. Neither De Vogüé nor Levy seem to have noticed these coins, on the obverse of which it is perfectly impossible that the words נשיא ישראל could ever have been placed, and on the reverse of which, in the first place, we have לחרות, instead of לגאלת, and, in the second place, on one of them (no. 2) there is the legend רושלם[י לחרות], "Of the deliverance of Jerusalem." Apart from this, the lyre is of a different shape to that on the coins bearing the title *Nasi*, and somewhat resembles that on a silver coin given to Simon, son of Gioras (no. 6), a type afterwards copied by Bar-cochab (nos. 3 and 4). Under these circumstances, I think that these coins with the *three* (or *four-*)*stringed lyre* must be assigned to Simon, son of Gioras.

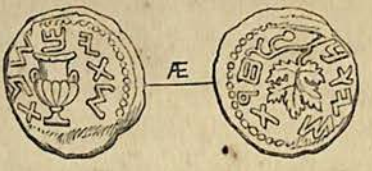
The tetradrachms of Eleazar, which we have described above,[5] were also perhaps issued by the authority of the Sanhedrim.

To the same Supreme Authority, probably, belong the

[4] *Num. Jud.* pl. XII. no. 8. This coin is engraved with a lyre of *four strings*, but the lyre is of the same shape.

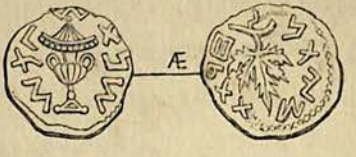
[5] See p. 164.

small common copper coins of the years 2 and 3 of the deliverance.



1. *Obv.* שנת שתים, *Shenath Shethaim.* "Year two." A vessel with two handles.

Rev. חרו[ת] ציון, *Cheruth Zion.* "Deliverance of Zion," round a vine-leaf. (De Saulcy, pl. X. no. 1.) Æ. 4.



2. *Obv.* שנת שלוש, *Shenath Shelosh.* "Year three." A vessel with two handles and cover.

Rev. The legend and type the same as that of the year two. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. X. no. 2.) Æ. 4.

These coins are the only ones attributed by De Saulcy[6] to the time of the revolt under Nero, as they correspond in fabric and weight with those of Nero of the year V. struck at Jerusalem. The most common are those of the year two; for the first year[7] the other copper

[6] *Num. Jud.* p. 154.

[7] De Saulcy (*l. c.*) says that in the *first year* autonomy was not established in Jerusalem, but coins of the 'first year of the deliverance of Israel' have been found. The attribution of the coins of Eleazar to the first year of the first revolt under Nero appears now proved, and equally so that of the coins with analogous types to Simon, son of Gioras. The attribution, however, of the coins to Simon Nasi, son of Gamaliel, is not quite so certain, and Cavedoni thinks that Levy has too much enriched the series of the first revolt, to the loss of that of the second (*Nuovi Studi sopra le Mon. Ant. Giud.* p. 28). The Rev. H.

coins may have sufficed, and in the fourth year the emergency of the times probably did not admit of coins being struck, as the Supreme Authority had long been overthrown. From having been found at Jerusalem, they were probably struck in that place. The inscription, ציון, *Zion*, on these coins is remarkable, as differing from the other coins of Nero's revolt. It is found only on the coins of Simon Maccabæus (p. 47), though not in connection with חרות (*Cheruth*), which is peculiar to the coins of the revolts.

The vessel with two handles and fluted marks on the obverse of these coins is considered by Cavedoni[8] to represent one of those which John of Gischala stole from the Temple,[9] as it is known that the gold and silver vessels presented to the Temple by Ptolemy Philadelphus were ornamented in this manner.[1]

D. Ananus, son of Ananus.

The coin now attributed by Levy to Ananus, son of Ananus, one of the chief leaders of the revolt,[2] was first engraved by De Saulcy,[3] and was classed by him, together with the one now attributed to Eleazar,[4] among the uncertain of Bar-cochab, and supposed by Perez Bayer to be written in a secret alphabet.[5] The obverse has

J. Rose (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Shekel*) says that the attribution of coins to Simon, son of Gioras, is scarcely probable, as he was not acting in concert with Eleazar. But why should we only have coins of Eleazar, and might not Simon have struck coins independently? (See p. 169.) It is worthy of observation, that no coins are at present assigned to John of Gischala, who was also one of the principal leaders of the revolt. These suggestions are thrown out for future students of Jewish numismatics. [See next page.]

[8] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 55.

[9] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 13, 6

[1] Ῥάβδωσις ἀνεγέγλυπτο. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 2, 9.

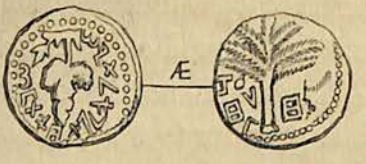
[2] See p. 158, *note*.

[3] Pl. XIII. 6.

[4] See p. 163.

[5] De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* p. 167.

quite clearly [ישׂ]ראל גאלת לחת אחת שנת, *Shenath Achath Ligullath Is*[*rael*]. "First year of the redemption of Israel." Cluster of grapes. But on the reverse there are only single letters, two *Cheths*, a *Nun*, a *Lamed*, and perhaps a *Jod*. The type is a palm. Æ. III.



'Could this coin,' says Levy, 'belong to חנון בן חנון, Hanan, son of Hanan (Ἄνανος), of whose deeds Josephus has given us copious details?' This attribution must be received with reserve, and can only be satisfactorily decided by a well-preserved specimen being found. Moreover, it seems to me to be more likely a coin of Eleazar (see p. 164) badly preserved, though Mr. Poole has suggested to me that the original legend might have been יהוחנן "Jehochanan," and therefore in this case it would be a coin of John of Gischala. This observation must also be received with reserve.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROMAN COINS STRUCK COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

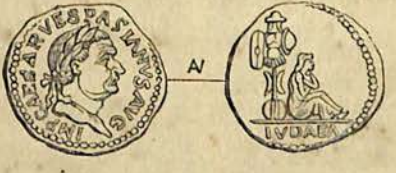
A. Reign of Vespasian.

I. *Coins struck in Judæa.*

Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΟΥΕΣΠ. ΚΑΙ. ΣΕΒ. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ. ΕΑΛѠΚΥΙΑΣ. Victory standing before a palm-tree, on which is fastened a shield, whereon she is inscribing the above legend.[1] Æ. 5½.

II. *Coins struck at Rome.—Gold and Silver.*



1. *Obv.* IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS. AVG. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA. Judæa seated on ground to the right at foot of trophy.[2] (British Museum; Cohen, no. 107.) AV.

[1] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 114. In the collection of, and published by, the Rev. H. C. Reichardt. It was bought at Jerusalem.

[2] These coins of 'Judæa capta' are an apt illustration of the words of Isaiah (iii. 26), "and she being desolate shall *sit upon the ground*." *Cf.* Lament. ii. 10.

2. The same coin. (Cohen, no. 108.) AR.

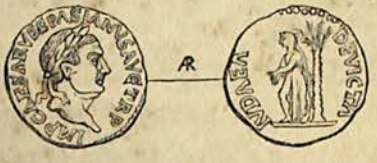
Cohen gives the following obverse varieties of this type:

(1.) IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS. AVG. TR.P. (No. 109.) AR.

(2.) IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. (No. 110.) AR.

2 Same obverse as no. 1.

Rev. IVDAEA. Judæa seated on ground to the right, her hands tied behind her back. (British Museum; *cf.* Cohen, no. 111.) AR.



4. *Obv.* IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. TR.P. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA. DEVICTA. Judæa, standing to left near a palm-tree, her hands fastened in front. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 112.) AR.

5. *Obv.* IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS. AVG. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. The same as no. 4. (Cohen, no. 112.) AR.

6. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. COS. IIII. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. No legend. Palm-tree. On the left side of tree,

Vespasian standing in military dress, holding spear and *parazonium*, and placing left foot on helmet: on the right, Judæa seated. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 235.) AV.

7. The same coin. (Cohen, no. 236.) AR.

These last two coins were struck in the fourth consulship of Vespasian, and the second year after the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 72.

Brass Coins.

1. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN . AVG. P. M. TR. P.P. P. COS. III. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back; behind him, shields; on the right, a Jewess seated on a cuirass, weeping. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 302.) Æ. I.

2. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. VESPAS. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. P. COS. III. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Same type as no. 1. (*Cf.* Cohen, no. 303.) Æ. I.

3. *Obv.* Same as no. 1.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back; behind him, a helmet, shields, &c.; on the right, a Jewess seated on cuirass; before her, shields (the arms differ on various examples). In *exergue* S.C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 304.) Æ. I.

4. *Obv.* Same as no. 1.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jew standing, his hands fastened behind his back to the tree against which he is leaning, turning his head to right; before him, shields; on the right, a Jewess seated on shield, and leaning left arm on another shield; in *field* to left and right S. C. (British Museum; *cf.* Cohen, no. 305.) Æ. I.

5. *Obv.* Same as no. 1.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jewess seated on cuirass; before her, shields; on the right, a Jew standing, his hands bound behind his back; behind him, shields. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 306.) Æ. I.

6. *Obv.* Same as no. 1.

Rev. IVDAEA. CAPTA (sometimes IVDEA). Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, Vespasian standing in military dress, holding spear and *parazonium*, his left foot placed on a helmet: on the right, Judæa seated on a cuirass. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 307.) Æ. I.

7. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. III. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDEA. CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, shields, cuirass and helmet; on the right, Judæa seated on cuirass, leaning left arm on shield. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 311.) Æ. II.

8. *Obv.* Same as no. 7.

Rev. IVDAEA. CAPTA. S.C. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, Judæa seated, surrounded by arms. (Cohen, no. 310.) Æ. II.

9. *Obv.* IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANUS. AVG. P.M. TP (*sic*) P. P. COS. III. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA DEVICTA. Victory standing to the right, placing left foot on helmet, and engraving the letters S . P . Q . R . on a shield, which is attached to a palm-tree. At the foot of palm to right Judæa seated on ground. In *exergue* S. C. (Cab. of G. Eastwood, Esq.; *cf.* Cohen, no. 266.) Æ. I.

The coins with the third consulship were struck in the very year of the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 71.

10. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. VIII. P.P. Head to the right, laureated; beneath, a globe.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on left side of tree, shields; on right, Judæa seated. In *exergue* S . C. (British Museum; *cf.* Cohen, no. 309.) Æ. II.

The reverse of this coin is very similar to that of no. 7, and the obverse type only differs in the date and the globe.

11. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. TR. P. P. COS. VIII. Head to the left, laureated.

Rev. IVD. CAP. (Judæa capta) across the *field.* Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jewess seated on shields and helmet: on the right, a Jew standing, turning his head to the left; before him, a helmet and shield. In *exergue* S. C. (Cab. of Dr. J. Lee; Akerman, *Num. Chron.* vol. viii. p. 155, pl. No. 2.) Æ. I.

Coins of the eighth consulship were struck in A.D. 77 or 78.

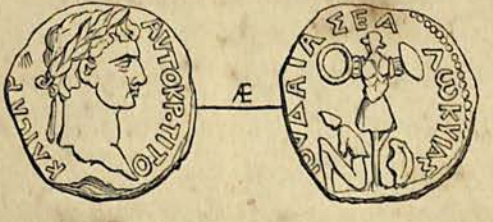
The following coin is given by Cohen as being in the *Musée de Vienne.*

Obv. IMP. CAES. VESPASIANVS. AVG. P. M. TR. P. Head to the right, laureated; beneath, a globe.

Rev. IVD. CAP. S. C. Judæa seated at the foot of palm-tree. (Cohen, no. 313.) Æ. II.

B. Reign of Titus.

I. *Coins struck in Judæa.*



1. *Obv.* AYTOKP. TITO[C] KAICAP. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IOYΔAIAΣ EAAΩKYIAΣ. Trophy, at the foot of which to the left a captive; on the right side on ground a shield. (De Saulcy, pl. X. no. 3.) Æ. II.

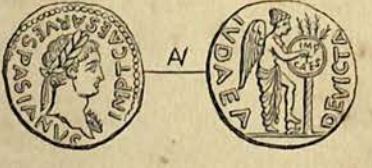
2. *Obv.* AYTOKP. TITOC. KAICAP. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑC ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑC. Victory, writing on a shield, which is attached to a palm-tree.[3] (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; De Saulcy, pl. X. no. 5.) Æ. II.

3. *Obv.* ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΤΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Head, to the right, laureated.

Rev. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. Palm-tree; on the left side Victory standing, placing left foot on helmet, and resting on left knee a shield on which she is writing. (British Museum.) Æ. II.

II. *Coins struck at Rome.—Gold and Silver.*

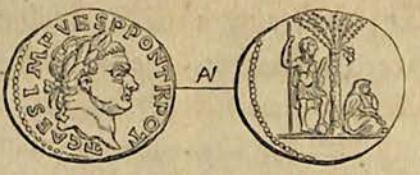


1. *Obv.* IMP. T. CAESAR VESPASIANVS. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA DEVICTA. Victory standing to the right, the left foot placed on a helmet, and writing IMP. T. CAES. on a shield which is attached to a palm. (*Cabinet des Médailles*, Paris; Cohen, no. 45.) AV.

This coin appears to have been struck in Cæsarea of Cappadocia.

[3] Pellerin (*Récueil*, vol. iii. pl. 134, fig. 1) gives a coin of this type with NEIKH. KAIC. on the shield.



2. *Obv.* T. CAES. IMP. VESP. PON. TR. POT. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. No legend. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, Titus standing in military dress, holding spear and *parazonium*, and placing left foot on helmet: on the right, Judæa seated on ground. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 131.) AV.

3. *Obv.* Same legend as no. 2. Bust, to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev. Same reverse as no. 2. (Cohen, no. 132.) AR.

Brass Coins.

1. *Obv.* T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. PON. TR. POT. COS. II. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, Titus standing in military dress, holding spear and *parazonium*, and placing left foot on helmet; on the right, Judæa seated on a cuirass. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 186.) Æ. I.

2. *Obv.* T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. P. TR. P. COS. II. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. S.C. Judæa, seated on cuirass at foot of palm-tree. (Cohen, no. 188.) Æ. II.

The second consulship of Titus corresponds to A.D. 72,

the year *after* the destruction of Jerusalem, though coins of Vespasian were struck in the actual year of the conquest. Mr. Akerman has already called attention to this curious fact, and hinting that it may be attributed to the jealousy of Vespasian, says, "If this could be ascertained, it would furnish a very opposite picture to that of our third Edward, who refrained from taking any part in the famous battle of Creçy, that his son might have the sole honour of the victory."[4]

3. *Obv.* IMP. T. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P.M. TR. P. P.P. COS. III. Head to the left, laureated.

Rev. IVD. CAP. S. C. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jewess seated on arms; on the right, a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back; before him two spears and a shield. (Cohen, no. 191.) Æ. I.

4. *Obv.* T. CAES. IMP. AVG. F. TR. P. COS. VI. CENSOR. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, arms; on the right, Judæa seated on a cuirass, resting left arm on left knee. In *exergue* S.C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 189.) Æ. II.

5. *Obv.* Same legend as no. 4. Head to the right, laureated.

[4] *Num. Chron.* vol. viii. p. 154, *note.*

Rev. IVDAEA . NAVALIS. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, arms; on the right, Judæa seated on ground. In *exergue* S. C. (*Num. Chron.* vol. viii. p. 162; Cohen, vol. i. p. 365, *note.*) Æ. II.

This remarkable, and, according to M. Cohen, *assez extraordinaire* coin was published some years ago by M. Dumersan of the *Cabinet des Médailles* at Paris, in the "Numismatic Journal."[5] It was found at Pont-sur-Yonne, near Sens, in France, and was at that time and may be still, in the possession of M. Leys, a resident of that town. M. Dumersan gives the following account of it. "The legends *Judæa Capta* and *Judæa Devicta* are well known on the coins of Vespasian and Titus; but *Judæa Navalis* was, until the discovery of this example, unknown. The Jews never enjoyed any great reputation as seamen; but, I think, I have found in Josephus a narration of the event to which the legend and type of this coin allude, the character of which is rather derisory than triumphal. This author relates in his history of the War with the Romans (iii. 9), that when the town of Joppa was destroyed by Cestius, the inhabitants, driven by famine, sought refuge by sea, the Romans having destroyed the neighbouring towns and villages. They built vessels (σκάφη) and committed piracies on the shores of Syria, Phœnicia and Egypt. The town being attacked a second time by the Roman troops, the Jews fled during the night towards their ships; but a violent tempest drove them on to the rocks which border the coast of Joppa, and they were exterminated. Soon after, they were defeated on the Lake of Gennesareth, their barks being unable to cope with the warlike vessels of Vespasian. To these events, and most probably to the first, the legend *Judæa Navalis* must allude; Titus, as it is well known, having accompanied his

[5] Vol. i. p. 88.

father in the Judaic war." Mr. Akerman, in an editorial note, made some objections to the authenticity of this coin, but they were speedily removed by the remarks of a French writer in the *Revue Numismatique Française*,[6] who had consulted M. Dumersan and M. de Longpérier, both of whom had seen the coin, and were convinced of its authenticity. M. Dumersan further says, that "this curious coin illustrates that of a large brass of Vespasian with the legend *Judæa capta*, upon which a Roman warrior is represented resting his right foot on the prow of a vessel." No coin with this peculiarity is given in Cohen, and therefore it might be concluded that such a coin cannot exist,

but there is a curious and probably unique coin of Titus in the British Museum with only the legend S. C. and the type "Titus standing, his right foot on the prow of a vessel, holding Victory (?) and spear; at his feet two Jews in supplication; to the left, a palm." This coin bears the date IMP. IIII. TR. POT. II. COS. II. = A.D. 73. There are also coins of Vespasian,[7] Titus,[8] and Domitian,[9] with the legend VICTORIA NAVALIS.

6. *Obv.* IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P.P. COS. VIII. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. Palm-tree; on the left side

[6] J. de P. 1837, p. 317.
[7] Cohen, nos. 502, 506.
[8] Cohen, nos. 314—316.
[9] Cohen, no. 552.

of tree, a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back; behind him shields; on the right, a Jewess seated on cuirass; before her shields. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 187.) Æ. I.

7. *Obv.* Same obverse as no. 6.

Rev. IVD. CAP. S. C. Same reverse as no. 3. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 192.) Æ. I.

8. *Obv.* Same obverse as no 6.

Rev. IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jew standing, his hands fastened behind his back to the tree; before him shields; on the right, a Jewess seated on a cuirass. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 193.) Æ. I.

9. *Obv.* Same legend as no. 6. Head to the left, laureated.

Rev. IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jewess seated on cuirass; on the right, a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back, and turning his head to the left; before him a helmet and shield. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 194.) Æ. I.

10. *Obv.* Same obverse as no. 9.

Rev. IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, a Jew standing, his hands tied behind his back to the tree; before him a shield and helmet; on the right, a Jewess seated on helmet; before her a shield. In *field* to left and right S. C. (British Museum.) Æ. I.

11. *Obv.* Same obverse as no. 9.

Rev. IVD. CAP. Same type as no. 7, but with S. C. in the *field*. (British Museum; *cf.* Cohen, no. 192.) Æ. I.

Coins of the eighth consulship were struck in A.D. 80, the year before the death of Titus.

There is also a third brass coin relative to the conquest of Judæa, but without a date.

12. *Obv.* IMP. T. CAESAR. DIVI. VESPASI. AVG. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVD. CAP. Palm-tree; on the left side of tree, Judæa seated on shields; on the right, a helmet and two large shields. In *field* to left and right S. C. (British Museum; Cohen, no. 195.) Æ. III.

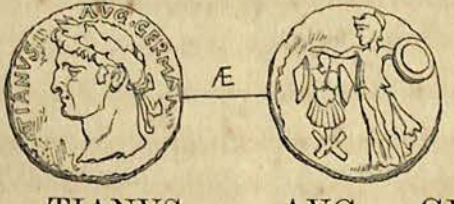
C. Reign of Domitian.

I. *Coins struck at Rome.*

Obv. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XI. CENS. POT. P.P. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. IVDAEA . CAPTA. S.C. A Jewess seated on the ground, and soldier standing near a trophy. (Lavy, *Musée de Turin;* Cohen, no. 372.) Æ. I.

This coin was struck in A.D. 85. It is of great rarity. Hoffmann has published in his *Bulletin Périodique*[1] a coin of Domitian struck in Judæa. This I have seen, and it is only an Agrippa under Domitian, similar to the one engraved at p. 129, no. 7. De Saulcy, however, has assigned to Judæa a coin without legible legends on either obverse or reverse, and describes the head as that of Titus or Domitian: a specimen of this coin, in the cabinet of Mr. Wigan, enables me to partially fill up the obverse legend.



Obv. .... TIANVS..... AVG . GERMAN.... Head of Domitian to the left, laureated.

Rev. Legend effaced. Victory standing to left crowning a trophy. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy, pl. X. no. 6.) Æ. II.

It is certain, from this restoration of the obverse legend, that the one on the reverse must have been in *Latin*, and therefore that the coin is not one of the IOYΔAIAC EAΛѠKYIAC class. There is, however, no reason why it should not commemorate the victory over the Jews; it was probably struck at Rome.

[1] Nos. 17 and 18, Sept. Oct. 1863. No. 576.

CHAPTER IX.

MONEY STRUCK DURING THE SECOND REVOLT OF THE JEWS.

From the time of Julius Cæsar, the Jews, when at peace, had always had a certain amount of liberty, and many privileges. Josephus tells us of some of his countrymen who possessed the Roman franchise at Ephesus, and were Roman citizens in the time of Julius Cæsar,[1] and of others, in the time of the tyrannical Procurator Florus, who being of the equestrian order, and therefore Roman citizens, were illegally whipped and nailed before his tribunal.[2] In the time of Nero, Seneca could say of them, that though 'conquered, they gave laws to their conquerors.'[3] The grand revolt of the Jews, of which we have but faintly given a description in a previous chapter, ended in tributes being imposed upon them by Vespasian.[4] These tributes were enforced by Domitian with unparalleled fierceness,[5] and even Jewish converts to Christianity were unrecognized by the Roman government. Upon the accession of Nerva, many important measures of internal administration were enacted, and among them the Jewish tribute was abolished. Of this fact we possess numismatic records. The reverse

[1] *Antiq.* xiv. 10, 13. See also the decrees of Augustus and Marcus Agrippa in favour of the Jews, especially as regards their sacred money. *Antiq.* xvi. 6.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14, 9.

[3] Senec. Frag. S. Augustin, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11. "Victi victoribus leges dederunt."

[4] See Chapter XI., under *didrachm.*

[5] Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est.—Suet. *in Dom.* 12.

legend, on a large brass coin of Nerva, is FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA, and the type a palm. But the calm was not of long duration. The hatred of the Jews to Rome was so intense that every advantage was taken to revolt, and the Romans, though they had boasted of 'Judæa capta' and 'Judæa devicta,' were always obliged to keep a careful watch over the subdued country. In the year A.D. 115, when Trajan was engaged in the Parthian expedition, the Jewish insurrection broke out in every direction, especially in the countries where the Jews were most numerous, in Cyrene, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Cyprus. In the sad revolt at Cyprus the Jews are said to have massacred 240,000 of the Grecian inhabitants, and to have obtained for a short time possession of the island. This rebellion was at last put down, and the Jews were not allowed to come to the island; and even if they should unfortunately be driven there by stress of weather, they were immediately put to death.[6] At Cyrene, the Jewish residents wreaked their vengeance on the natives, of whom 220,000 are said to have miserably perished. This insurrection was soon (A.D. 117) suppressed by Lusius Quietus, a man of Moorish origin, and Trajan made him governor of Judæa. In Egypt the Roman prefect was several times defeated and compelled to shut himself up in Alexandria. In the same spirit of fury with which the Jews had broken out into open revolt, was the outbreak subdued and revenged. Circumcision, the reading of the Law, and the observance of the Sabbath were strictly forbidden. The same year Trajan died and Hadrian ascended the throne. Hadrian (A.D. 117—138) had formed the design

[6] Dion Cassius, lxviii. 32.

of restoring Jerusalem, and sent a colony of veterans for the defence of the new city.[7] This, added to the promises of Hadrian to relax certain taxes and laws, which promises were never kept, caused the revolt to break forth with renewed vigour.[8] An announcement was made that the long promised Messiah had come. The name the new leader bore was Bar-cochab, "the son of a star," and the stories told of his birth were strangely significant of his future importance. The claims which he put forward were looked upon with favour by the Rabbi Akiba, whose good qualities had caused the Jews to place reliance upon his opinion: "Behold," he said, when the party of Bar-cochab were laying their plans for the re-establishment of their nation, "Behold the star that shall rise out of Jacob; the days of redemption are at hand."[9]

[7] The foundation of *Ælia Capitolina* must be placed to A.D. 131 (Dion Cass. lxix. 12; Clinton, F. R. vol. i. p. 118). It is, however, given to A.D. 119 by the *Chron. Pasch* (p. 254 A), but Hadrian was in Italy in this year. Eusebius places the foundation after A.D. 135, which, according to Clinton (*l. c.*), Tillemont (vol. ii. p. 289) *properly* explains to mean that the new city *Ælia* was destroyed by Bar-cochab and restored by Hadrian after the war. (See *note*, p. 201.) We think that the colony was sent in A.D. 131, and the city perhaps commenced, but owing to the revolt, not completed till A.D. 136. The idea that Titus was the founder of the colony of *Ælia* is hardly worthy of notice. (St. Jerome, *Chron. Hadr. an.* XX.)

[8] Hadrian arrived in Egypt in autumn, A.D. 130, and he was in Syria in spring or autumn, A.D. 131. After this date the Jewish war commenced. (Clinton, F.R. vol. i. p. 118.)

[9] Alluding to the prophecy, Numbers xxiv. 17-24. He was, however, at first only a robber and a murderer, but the name Bar-cochab, which he had assumed. as though he were a star from heaven, and light bringing prosperity to the Jews (ὡς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φωστὴρ αὐτοῖς κατεληλυθώς) gained him a reputation (Euseb. H. E. vi. 6). It is for this reason that we think the shekels with a *star*, attributed now by Levy to Simon, son of Gioras, (see pp. 170, 209), should be given to Bar-cochab, the emblems evidently referring to his name and public opinion. (*Cf.* Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 64.)

At the commencement of the revolt, Rufus, by the command of Hadrian, led his troops into Judæa, and Akiba, the Rabbi, was seized and imprisoned. It is said that, owing to the great reputation of Bar-cochab, he was at the head of no less than 200,000 men. That his followers were great in number, there is no question. The pretensions of Bar-cochab to being the Messiah found of course no favour with the Christians, and for the scorn with which they regarded his impious claims, he revenged himself by subjecting them to cruel persecutions. Upon the arrival of Julius Severus from Britain to Palestine, in A.D. 134, the rebels were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles, nine hundred and eighty-five villages,[1] and perhaps Jerusalem.[2] At last, after a warfare of nearly two years, one place after another was taken, and the admirable discipline of the Roman troops, and the

[1] Dion Cass. lxix. 14.

[2] It seems excessively doubtful whether Bar-cochab was ever in possession of Jerusalem. Eusebius speaks of the city being destroyed (*τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων, κ. τ. λ.* H. E. iv. 6), and again, says that the war ended by the taking of Jerusalem, of which one stone was not left above another (*ὡς μήτε λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον ἀφεθῆναι, Chron.* I., quoted in the note to Sturz's ed. of Dion Cass. vol. vi. p. 667). St. Jerome also mentions this fact (*Dan.* ix. 27, and *Ezek.* xxiv. 14), and the historian Appian (*τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἁγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς . . . . . καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. Syr.* 50). Dion Cassius (lxix. 14), however, who mentions the *πεντήκοντα φρούρια* that were taken, says nothing about Jerusalem, which, as a colony of the Romans, was most likely in their hands. Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 61), considers that the coins with the inscription *Lacheruth Jerusalem* (of the deliverance of Jerusalem), place the assertion of St. Jerome beyond all doubt, and that, as none of Bar-cochab's coins of the second year have been found with the name *Jerusalem*, the Jews were driven out from thence by the Romans to take refuge in the city of Bethar. If Bar-cochab, however, used the stamp of Simon, son of Gioras, entirely, the coins would afford us no authority of any worth. (*Cf.* Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 104, *note*). See *note* on p. 203.

great skill of Severus brought the war nearly to a termination. The city of Bethar,[3] however, still remained in the hands of the insurgents, but after repeated onsets by the Romans, it was captured,[4] and Bar-cochab killed (A.D. 135).[5] The old scenes of cruel and bloody revenge were now again repeated. The exasperation of the Romans knew no bounds, and their fury was especially directed against the scholars and their disciples, so that many of them died under cruel torments, and among them Akiba, who, while torn in pieces with red hot pincers, continued to cry, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God: the Lord is God alone!"[6]

[3] This city is described as a very strong city, not far from Jerusalem. (Euseb. H. E. iv. 6.) It also appears to have been not far from Cæsarea Palestinæ and the sea.

[4] Bethar is said to have been taken by T. Annius Rufus (St. Jerome, *Zach.* viii. 16-17). Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 62, *note* 41) prefers reading this name *Tineius Rufus*, especially as St. Jerome himself in the Chronicle (*an.* xvi. *Hadr.*) calls this Roman general *Tinius Rufus*, whilst Milman says he was called by the Rabbins *Tyrannus*, or *Turnus Rufus*, the Wicked. It is curious that the Roman commander, to whom the final demolition of Jerusalem had been committed by Titus, bore the name of *Terentius Rufus*. (Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, vol. iii. p. 118.)

[5] Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. iii. p. 61) says that the war lasted four years and a half, commencing in A.D. 132, and ending in August 136, but according to the statements of St. Jerome and Dion Cassius, it only lasted *three years and a half*. In any case Bethar was taken August, A.D. 135. (*Cf.* Clinton, F. R. vol. i. p. 118.)

[6] Salvador, ii. 577. According to Dion Cassius, the number of the Jews slain in battle was 580,000, and those that perished by famine and plague exceed all calculation, so that nearly all Judæa was left desolate (lxix. 14). These statements are as improbable as those of Josephus in his number of those who perished in the first revolt (see p. 161). This war has usually been thought to be the last, but mention is made of another during the reign of Septimius Severus, after which *Senatus Judaicum triumphum decreverat* (Spartian, *in Sev.* 16). St. Jerome also mentions it in his Chronicle (*an.* v. *Sev.*), *Judaicum et Samariticum bellum ortum vel resumptum*. It cannot have been of any importance.

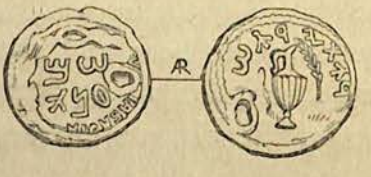
A. Simon Bar-cochab.

In the same manner as the Jewish leaders commemorated their trials and their struggles by coins in the first revolt, so do we find their descendants leaving memorials in the second. The history of the taking of Jerusalem by Titus must have been well known by many of the contemporaries of Bar-cochab, and the names of the chief leaders in the first revolt—especially that of Simon, son of Gioras—must have been firmly graven upon the hearts of the Jews in the second. It is not to be wondered at then, that Bar-cochab struck over the *denarii* of the heathen Cæsars, the legends of the earlier struggles, and the name of the leader in those days, especially if he himself also bore the name of Simon.[7] We thus find the silver and copper coins which were current in the first revolt, revived in the time of the second, having the same Hebrew inscription, with here and there the remains of a previous Latin inscription, and a new type with sometimes the traces of the obverse or reverse type of the Roman *denarii*.

[7] The conjecture that this leader bore the name of *Simon* rests only on the testimony of the coins, for all authorities are silent on the subject, and the oldest (to which belong the Thosiphtha and the Jerusalem Talmud) call him only Ben-Kosiba; later ones (as the Ecclesiastical Fathers, the Babylonian Talmud and Midrasch), Bar-Kochba (or Bar-Chochebas, also sometimes Bar-Kosiba), from his quality as Messiah, as 'son of a star' (see p. 200, *note* 9). Taking into consideration whether Ben-Kosiba ever did hold possession of Jerusalem (see p. 201, *note* 2), and also whether the types of the coins, which are evidently derived from the services of the Temple (such as the Trumpets, Lyre, sacrificial Vases), were well-understood symbols in the second century after the destruction of the sanctuary, Levy is of opinion that Ben-Kosiba was *only an imitator of the coins of Simon, son of Gioras*, and consequently that only the *recoined money* should be attributed to him. (*Jüd. Münzen*, pp. 122, 123.)

These re-struck coins were thought by De Saulcy to be of little value, and to teach nothing new in reference to Jewish numismatics,[8] and many of them are in consequence ‹ mitted by him. But it is by these re-struck coins that Eckhel and others have argued, that a part of the coins at one time attributed to Simon Maccabæus were undoubtedly struck under Hadrian, and now, in this last arrangement of Jewish coins, Levy, in these fragments of legends and re-strikings, finds the most certain criterion to distinguish the coins of the second Jewish war from those of the first.[9]

We now pass on to the description of the coins which can with certainty be attributed to Bar-cochab, and some of which appear even to have been struck from the same stamp as those of Simon, son of Gioras. We especially call attention to that with the pitcher and palm-branch,[1] as also to the one with the three-stringed lyre.[2]



1. *Obv.* שמענ (for שמעון), *Simon*, within a wreath, with the traces of ISV. IASASIAN (Vespasianus ?) on the lower rim.

Rev. [לם]ירוש[לח]רות [*Lache*]*ruth Jerus*[*alem.*] "The deliverance of Jerusalem." A pitcher and palm-branch. (De Saulcy, pl. XII. no. 3.)[3] AR. 4.

According to Levy[4] there is yet a possibility, if not a

[8] *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 298.

[9] *Cf.* Cavedoni, *Nuovi Studi sopra le Mon. Ant. Giud.* p. 30.

[1] See no. 1 of Simon, son of Gioras, and *note* thereto.

[2] See no. 6 of Simon, son of Gioras.

[3] A specimen of this coin in Mr. Wigan's cabinet has on the obverse, under the wreath, traces of CAESAR. The legend on the reverse is complete.

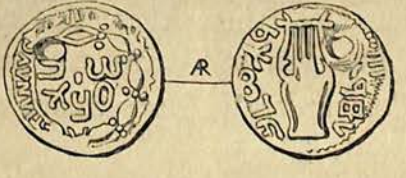
[4] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 105.

probability that Simon, son of Gioras, re-struck these coins during the latter time of the revolt, and he also thinks that the same remote probability might exist in the case of the re-struck *denarius* of Galba with P. SER.[5]

Other coins, however, of the time of Bar-cochab, re-struck by him, bear traces of the names of Titus, Domitian, or Trajan.[6] Of this kind are the following:—

2. *Obv.* שמענו (for שמעון) *Simon*, within a wreath.

Rev. ירושלם [לח]רות [*Lache*]*ruth Jerusalem.* "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Cup; round the edge of the coin TITUS CAES. VESP. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.) AR. 4.



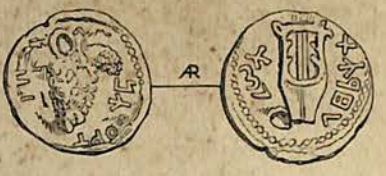
3. *Obv.* שמענו (for שמעון)[7] *Simon*, within a wreath; round it are traces of Latin letters, TIAN AVG (Domitianus Augustus ?).

Rev. רושלם[י] [ות]לחר *Lacher*[*uth*] [*Je*]*rusalem.* "The deliverance of Jerusalem." Three-stringed lyre. (British Museum.) AR. 4.

[5] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 105, *note;* Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 24, *note;* vol. ii. 57, no. 7 *b.*

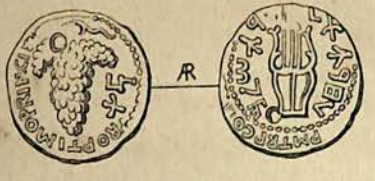
[6] Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 75.

[7] On a similar coin in the British Museum, on which the name of Simon is written שמנעו, the *Vau* has the peculiar form ו. (See *note* on p. 167.)



4. שמע[ון] *Simon*, written round a cluster of grapes: under them are traces of the name of Trajan OPT (Optimo Principi[8] Trajano).

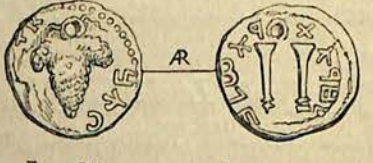
Rev. לחרות [ירו]של[ם] *Lacheruth* [*Jer*]*usal*[*em.*] "The deliverance of Jerusalem." A three-stringed lyre. (De Saulcy, pl. XII. no. 2.) AR. 4.



Another coin given by Cavedoni,[9] and coined less carefully, shows fuller traces of the Latin inscription of the Emperor Trajan.

There are also specimens of these coins, as also of those that follow, which do not bear any traces of re-coining, and which may therefore show that the types originally belonged to Simon, son of Gioras.[1] Some are also published by Mr. Reichardt, and Levy thinks that the second of them is decidedly false.[2]

The next two coins are struck on *denarii* of Trajan.



5. *Obv.* שמ[עון] *Simon*, written round a cluster of

[8] This title was given to Trajan in A.D. 114. (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 430.)

[9] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. pl. I. no. 5.

[1] See no. 6 of Simon, son of Gioras. The type of the lyre also occurs on a coin of Simon, son of Gioras, of the second year. (See no. 5.)

[2] See nos. 13 and 14 of Simon, son of Gioras.

grapes; above, the letters TR, traces of the name of Trajan.

Rev. ירושלם [י]לחרות *Lacheruth* [*Je*]*rusalem.* "The deliverance of Jerusalem," written round two trumpets. (De Saulcy, pl. XI. no. 7.) AR. 4.

6. *Obv.* שמעון. *Simon.* Cluster of grapes.

Rev. לחרות ירושלם. *Lacheruth Jerusalem.* "Deliverance of Jerusalem." Two trumpets. (British Museum.) AR. 4.

On the obverse of this coin are clear traces of the back of the head of the Emperor Trajan, and on the reverse can be seen an arm holding a branch, and we are enabled to speak with certainty as to the actual coin of Trajan, issued in A.D. 105, on which this one is struck. I subjoin an engraving of it.

Mr. Reichardt[3] communicates from his cabinet two specimens of coins which are varieties of the last described type. The casts that I have of them represent the coins to be in such a bad state of preservation, that it is impossible to give engravings of them.

7. *Obv.* שב לחר[ות] יש[ראל]. *Schin Beth* (=*Shenath Shethaim*) *Lacher*[*uth*] *Is*[*rael*]. "Second year of the deliverance of Jerusalem." Two trumpets; between them an oblong square.

[3] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. iii. pp. 276, 277. nos. 22, 23. Levy says of them, 'Beide sind *Kupfermünzen.*' (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 107.) This must be an error.

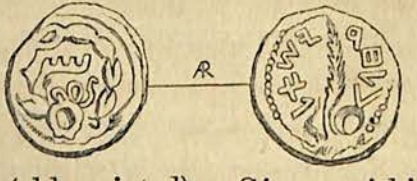
Rev. [ון]שמע. *Simon*, within a laurel wreath. AR. 4.

8. *Obv.* (*sic*) ישאל [ות]לחר שב. Same type.

Rev. [ון]שמע. *Simon*, within a wreath. AR. 4.

The two trumpets are warlike emblems, doubtless recalling the history of the command of Moses, that their sounding was to be the signal for the departure of the camp.[4] Their size on the coins confirms the account given of them by Josephus.[5]

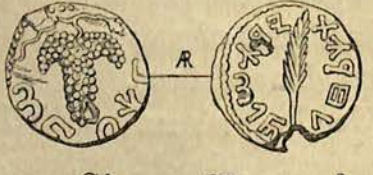
A coin of the second year, which bears traces of re-coining, is published by De Vogüé.[6] Although the letters שב are not on the coin, from the fact of there being a hole in it, just where they should be, there seems every reason to believe that they were there, as on the piece engraved above.[7]



9. *Obv.* שמ (abbreviated). *Simon*, within a wreath.

Rev. (*sic*) ישאל [ות]לחר [שב]. [*Schin Beth*] *Lacher*-[*uth*] *Isael* (for *Israel*). "[Second year] of the deliverance of Israel." Palm-branch. (*Rev. Num.* 1860, pl. XIII. no. 6.) AR. 4.

Another coin is given by De Saulcy, which is evidently re-struck, but traces of the original legend are altogether lost.



10. *Obv* שמעון. *Simon.* Cluster of grapes.

[4] Numbers x. 1; *cf.* 1 Maccab. xvi. 8.

[5] *Antiq.* iii. 12, 6; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 66.

[6] *Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 290.

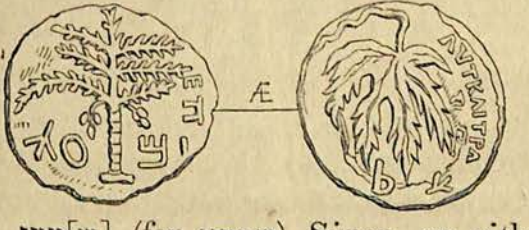
[7] See no. 3 of Simon, son of Gioras.

Rev. לחרות ירושלם. *Lacheruth Jerusalem.* "The deliverance of Jerusalem." A palm-branch. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; *cf.* De Saulcy. pl. XI. no. 6.) AR. 4.

Other specimens of this coin are said to be stamped with the Greek letters IAN ΣEB on the obverse, and with ΥΠ Δ on the reverse.[8] These initials would signify [ΤΡΑ]ΙΑΝ-[ΟΣ] ΣΕΒ[ΑΣΤΟΣ] and ΥΠ[ΑΤΟΣ] Δ. 'Trajan Augustus, Consul for the fourth time.'

The shekels of Simon with the tetrastyle Temple, above which a star, and on the reverse the *Ethrog* and the *Lulab*, are also found re-coined at the time of the revolt of Bar-cochab, who re-struck them on tetradrachms of Antioch of Titus, Domitian, or Trajan, the type and inscription being the same as those described above.[9]

A similar treatment to that of the silver coins has also been employed for the copper coinage, inasmuch as they also bear marks of re-coining; and it is very probable that original coins of Simon, son of Gioras, served the purpose of Bar-cochab (see p. 172).



1. *Obv.* מעו[ש] (for שמעון) *Simon*, on either side of a palm-tree.

Rev. [לח]רו[ת ירושלם] [*Lache*]*ru*[*th Jerusalem*] "Deliverance of Jerusalem." Vine-branch. (Cab. of E. Wigan, Esq.; De Saulcy, pl. XIII. no. 3.) Æ. II.

On the obverse of this coin there are the Greek initials

[8] Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 474.

[9] See p. 170, where these shekels are discussed; Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 74. A shekel of Simon Bar-cochab in the Cab. of Mr. Wigan, similar to the one engraved at p. 170, shows evident traces of re-coining.

E Π, and on the reverse ΑΥΤ[οκράτωρ] ΚΑΙ[σαρ] ΤΡΑ-[ιανὸς], thus showing that this coin is struck over a coin of Trajan. Re-struck coins of the second year of the same type have not yet been found.

Besides the type of the palm and date tree, we find upon the coins of the first and second revolt the vine, with its cluster as well as its leaf. The vine-tree flourished everywhere in Palestine, and the excellent quality of the wines which it afforded, is celebrated in many passages of Scripture.[1] In such abundance did it grow that at the building of the first Temple, wine was given to the Tyrians,[2] and at the building of the second, to them and the Sidonians.[3] At the same time, excess in the use of wine is a subject frequently alluded to by the prophets.[4] The people of Israel, too, are often compared with the vine by their prophets,[5] and the vine tree itself was introduced at the entrance to the porch of the Temple at Jerusalem, for the purpose of receiving alms, for people hung thereon a leaf, a berry, or a grape-cluster (of gold).[6] It is not then surprising, that the grape and its leaf became an ornament for the coins of Palestine.

[1] Ezek. xxvii. 18; Hos. xiv. 7, etc. [2] 2 Chron. ii. 9, 14.
[3] Ezra iii. 7. [4] Isaiah v. 11, 22; xxviii. 7; Hos. iii. 1, etc.
[5] Isaiah v. 7; Ezek. xix. 10; Hos. x. 1.
[6] Mischnah Middoth, 3, 8; Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 134. *Cf.* Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 3, 1.

CHAPTER X.

IMPERIAL COLONIAL COINS STRUCK AT JERUSALEM.

ARAB COINS.

THAT the Jews might have no more idea of establishing a kingdom with Jerusalem for a capital, Hadrian, in A.D. 136, completed the building of his new city,[1] giving it the name of Ælia Capitolina; combining with his own family name *Ælius*, the name of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the supreme deity of the heathen world and the guardian of the colony. For in the honour of Jupiter Capitolinus Hadrian had erected a temple, on the site formerly occupied by the Temple of God.[2] He also built other edifices, among which may be mentioned a theatre, and a building called τετράνυμφον. All Jews were forbidden to enter the colony on pain of death, and only Christians or Pagans were allowed to reside there. It is affirmed that a sow was sculptured over the gate leading to Bethlehem, by the Emperor's command,[3] but it was probably not intended as an insult, that animal being one of the military standards of the Romans. The Jews do not hesitate to affirm that the swine was "a fitting emblem

[1] A relation of the Emperor Hadrian, by name Aquila, is said to have been employed to superintend the rebuilding (Epiphan. *De Pond. et Mens.* 15). For the date of the first foundation of *Ælia*, and the question whether Bar-cochab ever possessed it, see pp. 200, 201, *notes* 7 and 2.

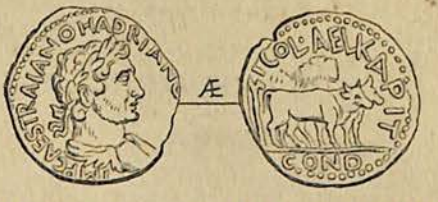
[2] Dion Cass. lxix. 12.

[3] In fronte ejus portæ, quâ Bethlehem egredimur, *sus sculptus* in marmore, significans Romanæ potestati subjacere Judæos. (St. Jerome, *Chron. Hadr. ann.* xxx.) See the coin of Antoninus (p. 218, no. 10).

of the colony and its founder, of the lewd worship of its gods, and the vile propensities of its emperor."[4]

A. Hadrianus.[5]

A.D. 136—A.D. 138.



1. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. TRAIANO. HADRIANO. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

[4] Salvador, ii. 583; Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, vol. vii. p. 400. The idea that Vespasian and Titus struck coins with the type of a sow and young to commemorate their victory over the Jews is an absurd one. I find, however, that such an idea has been adopted. In Kitto's *History of Palestine* (p. 757) a coin with this type is engraved of large brass size (!), with others of the 'Judæa Capta' type. The genuine coin is, however, of silver (so also is the 'Judæa Devicta,' engraved in Kitto as a large brass coin), and occurs of Vespasian, with the dates IMP. XIII=A.D. 75, and IMP. XIX=A.D. 78 (Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. i. p. 281), and of Titus, with the date IMP. XIII=A.D. 78 (Cohen, *l. c.* p. 346). The type doubtless indicates the sow seen by Æneas, with its thirty young, concerning which Virgil speaks in his 8th Æneid (l. 43; Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 336); besides, the sow was a legionary emblem.

[5] There were also some coins struck at Rome, commemorating the defeat of the second revolt of the Jews. It may not be out of place to give their description and representation.

Obv. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. Bust to the right, bare, with *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev. COL. AEL. KAPIT. (*sic*) COND. Colon driving two oxen to the right; behind them a standard fixed in the ground. (De Saulcy, pl. XV. no. 5.) Æ. II.

2. *Obv.* IMP. . . . . HADRIAN. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COND. Turreted figure standing to the left, in a hexastyle temple. In *exergue* CO. AE. CAP. (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. pl. III. no. 5.) Æ. II.

Rev. ADVENTVI. AVG. IVDAEAE. Hadrian standing to right before a female (Judæa), who holds a *patera* and a box; between them a burning altar: on either side of the female a child holding a palm: behind the altar a bull. In *exergue* S. C. (British Museum; *cf.* Cohen, nos. 606-610.) Æ. I.

Obv. Same legend. Head of Hadrian to the right, bare.

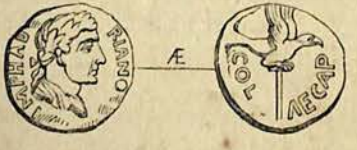
Rev. IVDAEA (in *exergue*). Hadrian standing to right before a female (Judæa), who holds a *patera* and box; on the right side of female an altar, and a bull; on the left side of the female a child: two children holding palms are advancing towards Hadrian. In *field* to left and right S. C. (British Museum.) Æ. I.

Hadrian's third consulship commenced in A.D. 119. The title of *Pater Patriæ* (P. P.) was given to him in A.D. 126 according to St. Jerome, and in A.D. 128 according to Eusebius. These coins are struck between A.D. 136 and A.D. 138, the year of Hadrian's death.

These two coins are doubtless the first which were struck in the new city by its founder (*conditor*) Hadrian. The type of the reverse of the first coin is a suitable representation of the *aratum templum*, as a plough was passed over the ruins of the Temple by the Roman general Rufus.[6]

3. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. TRAI. HADRIAN. AVG. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. Jupiter Capitolinus seated to left in a distyle temple; before him and behind him a figure standing, each holding a spear.[7] (De Saulcy, pl. XV. no. 6.) Æ. I.



4. *Obv.* IMP. HADRIAN. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

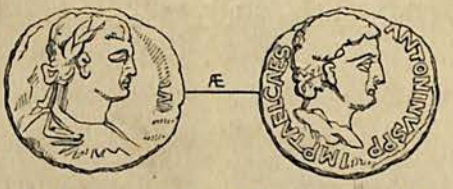
Rev. COL. AE. CAP. Roman eagle[8] on pole (standard). (De Saulcy, pl. XV. no. 7.) Æ. III.

[6] St. Jerome, *Zach.* viii. 16, 17.

[7] These figures (as has been already observed by Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 69) certainly represent Juno and Minerva, and the type is similar to the brass coins of Vespasian, which were struck to remind the Jews of the didrachm which was required to be paid to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and which had formerly been paid to the Temple at Jerusalem. (See below, under *Greek Money in N. T.*) Tacitus, Varro, and Martial expressly speak of the Capitoline Temple as the shrine of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 328; Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. i. p. 319, nos. 403—410.)

[8] The emblem of the Roman eagle seems to have been employed in derision, for the Jews could not endure the Roman ensigns, and in times

HADRIAN AND ANTONINUS.

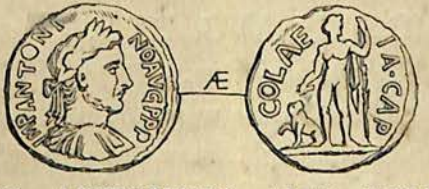


Obv. Legend obliterated. Bust of Hadrian to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

Rev. IMP. T. AEL. CAES. ANTONINVS. P.P. Head of Antoninus to the right, bare. (De Saulcy, pl. XX. no. 11.) Æ. II.

B. ANTONINUS PIUS.

A.D. 138—A.D. 161.



1. *Obv.* IMP. ANTONINO AVG. P.P.P. *(Pio Patri Patriæ.)* Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

Rev. COL. AE[L]IA CAP. Bacchus standing, facing, head turned to right, holding bunch of grapes (?) and *thyrsus;* at his feet to left, a panther. (De Saulcy, pl. XV. no. 8.) Æ. II.

2. *Obv.* IMP. AEL. HAD. ANT . . . . . Head to the right, laureated.

past had raised a great sedition against Herod I. who attempted to place a golden eagle against the principal door of the Temple (Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 6, 2), and against Pontius Pilate, who introduced the 'Roman ensigns into Jerusalem.' (*Antiq.* xviii. 3, 1.) See Herod of Chalcis, p. 112.

Rev. [C]OL. AE. CAP. Head of Serapis to right, with the *modius*. (De Saulcy, pl. XV. no. 9.) Æ. II.

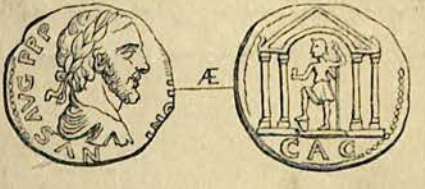
3. *Obv.* IMP. C (Cæsar) T (Titus) AEL. AN. Head to the right, bare.

Rev. COL. AE. CAPIT. (The heads of the letters are turned towards the centre of the coin.) Head of Serapis to right, with the *modius*. (De Saulcy, pl. XVI. no 1.)[9] Æ. II.

4. *Obv.* IMP. ANT. AVG. P.P.P. Head to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev. Jupiter Capitolinus with his attributes seated in a tetrastyle temple; before him a flying eagle. In *exergue* C. A. C. (Colonia Ælia Capitolina.) Æ. II.

This coin is in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt. It was obtained at Jerusalem.[1]



5. *Obv.* [ANT]ONINVS AVG. P.P.P. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

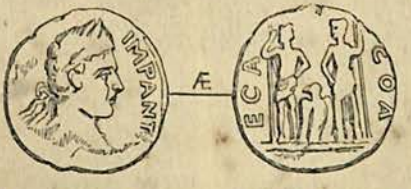
Rev. A turreted figure standing to the left in a tetrastyle

[9] Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 70), after Pellerin, wishes to attribute this coin to Commodus, and says that De Saulcy has confounded the letter T with L. De Saulcy, however, has examined several specimens, and says there is certainly a T and *not* an L, and consequently that coins of Commodus still remain to be found. (*Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 298.)

[1] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 114.

temple, holding in right hand an uncertain object, and in left a spear; the right foot placed upon a helmet (?). In *exergue* C. A. C. (De Saulcy, pl. XVI. no. 3.) Æ. II.

Mionnet,[2] after Vaillant[3] and Eckhel,[4] has given the descriptions of some coins similar to the last, calling the figure Astarte, and describing her as placing her foot on a river. These coins have been quoted in popular works,[5] but it does not appear that they exist. There is certainly a tradition that a temple of Venus was erected on the site afterwards identified with that of the Sepulchre of our Lord,[6] but even this last fact has been allowed to be doubtful.[7]



6. *Obv.* IMP. ANT. . . . . Head, to the right, laureated.

Rev. CO. AE. CA. The Dioscuri standing, each holding a spear; between them an eagle. (De Saulcy, pl. XVI. no. 4.) Æ. II.

7. *Obv.* [IMP. ANTONI]NVS. AVG. P.P.P. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

[2] *Suppl.* vol. viii. p. 361, no. 7. [3] *Num. Aer. Imp.* i. p. 239.

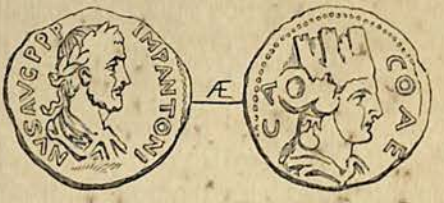
[4] *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iii. p. 442.

[5] Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Biography*, s. v. *Jerusalem;* ibid. *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. *Jerusalem.*

[6] Epiphanius, *De Pond. et Mens.* 14.

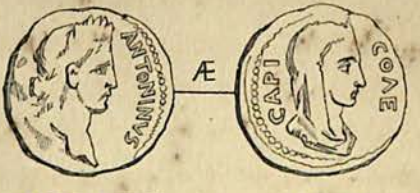
[7] Gregorovius, *Hadr.* p. 56; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vii. p. 399, *note.*

Rev. CO. A[E. C]A. The Dioscuri standing, each holding a spear. (De Saulcy, pl. XVI. no. 5.) Æ. II.



8. *Obv.* IMP. ANTONINVS. AVG. P.P.P. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev. CO. AE. CA. Turreted bust of the town to the right. (De Saulcy, pl. XVI. no. 6.) Æ. II.



9. *Obv.* ANTONINVS. . . . . Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. CO. AE. CAPI. Bust to the right, covered with lion's skin. (De Saulcy, pl. XVI. no. 7.) Æ. II.

10. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. ANTONINO. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev. Boar walking to the right; above, the letters K.A.C. Æ. III.

This small coin is in the Paris collection, and was first published by Pellerin,[8] who read the letters over the boar KAC. Sestini[9] and Mionnet[1] have read K.A.C. as the initials of *Kolonia Ælia Capitolina*. De Saulcy,[2] however, reads the letters KAE, and thinks Mionnet's reading very doubtful. He also objects to the use of K instead of C as the initial letter of *Colonia*, but Cavedoni[3] brings

[8] Vol. ii. *Suppl.* p. 52, pl. II. no. 12.
[1] Vol. v. no. 14, p. 518.
[3] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 71; Rasche, *Lexicon*, s. v. KOA.
[9] *Descr. Num. Vet.* p. 545.
[2] *Num. Jud.* p. 175.

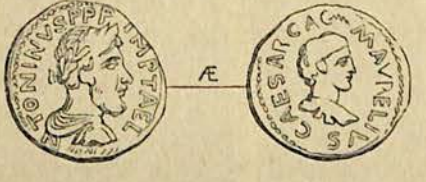
forward the fact that KOΛ and KOL are found on Latin coins of Damascus for *Colonia*. De Saulcy does not interpret KΛE. The type of the boar may be in favour of its being a Jewish colonial coin,[4] and the inscription on the obverse corresponds to some others of the coins of Ælia, which have the inscriptions in the dative.

11. *Obv.* IMP. ANTONINVS AVG.P. Head to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev. C . A . C. Three females standing, clothed in the *stola*. Æ. 3½

This coin, which is published by Mionnet,[5] is omitted by De Saulcy. Cavedoni[6] wishes to take the three figures on the reverse for *three nymphs*, on account of the τετράνυμφον which Hadrian had built in Ælia Capitolina, on the site of the Temple; but "why are there only *three* nymphs, and not four, to make allusion to a temple of *four* nymphs?"[7]

Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.



Obv. IMP. T. AEL. [A]NTONINVS. P.P.P. Bust of Antoninus to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum*.

Rev. M. AVRELIVS. CAESAR. C.A.C. (?) Head of Aurelius to the right, bare. (De Saulcy, pl. XVI. no. 8.) Æ. II.

[4] But see *note* no. 8, on p. 212.

[5] *Suppl.* vol. viii. p. 361.

[6] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 69.

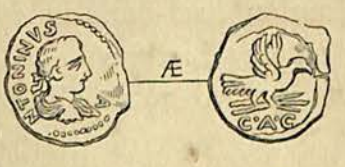
[7] De Saulcy, *Rev. Num.* 1857, p. 298.

C. Marcus Aurelius.

A.D. 161—A.D. 180.

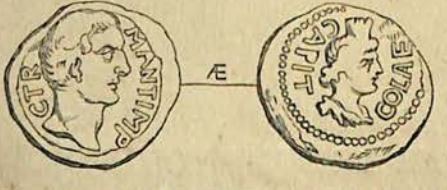
1. *Obv.* IMP. CAESA[R AV]R. ANTONINVS. AVG. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. Trophy. (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 1.) Æ. II.



2. *Obv.* ANTONINVS. Young bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

Rev. C. A. C. Eagle on thunderbolt. (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 2.) Æ. III.



3. *Obv.* M. ANT. IMP. CTR (?). Head to the right, bare.

Rev. COL. AE. CAPIT. Head of Serapis to the right, with the *modius.* (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 3.) Æ. II.

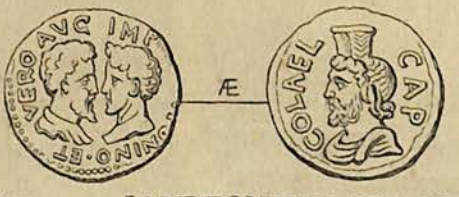
4. *Obv.* . . CAESAR. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. A. CA. Head of Serapis to the right, with *modius.*

This last coin is in the possession of the Rev. H. C·

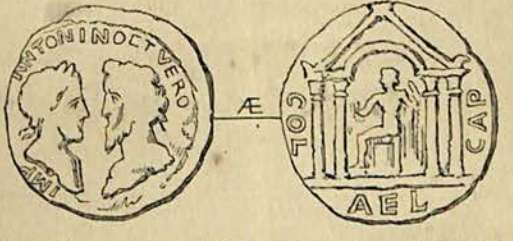
Reichardt, and was obtained at Bethlehem, near Jerusalem.[8]

MARCUS AURELIUS AND LUCIUS VERUS.



1. *Obv.* IMP. . . . [AN]TONINO ET VERO. AUG. Heads of Aurelius and Verus facing each other, both bare, the former with *paludamentum*.

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. Head of Serapis to the left, with the *modius*. (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 4.) Æ. II.



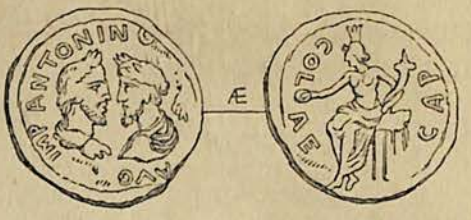
2. *Obv.* IMP. . . ANTONINO ET VERO . . Heads of Aurelius and Verus facing each other, both laureated.

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. The town seated in a tetrastyle temple. (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 5.) Æ. I.

3. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. ANTONINO ET VERO. AVG. Bust of Antoninus and Verus facing each other, both bare(?), and with the *paludamentum*.

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. Victory to the left, holding wreath and palm. (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 6.) Æ. II.

[8] *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. ii. p. 114.

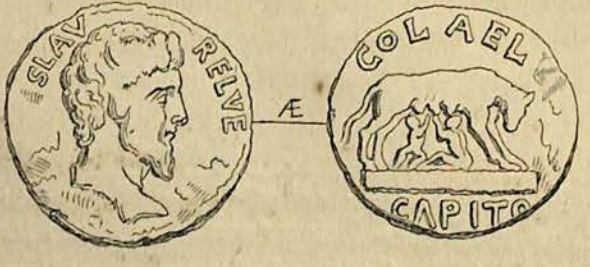


4. *Obv.* IMP. ANTONINO. . . . . AVG. Busts of Antoninus and Verus facing each other, both laureated, and with the *paludamentum*.

Rev. COL. AE. CAP. Turreted female seated to the left, holding *patera* and cornu-copiæ. (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 7.) Æ. II.

D. Lucius Verus.

A.D. 161—A.D. 169.



1. *Obv.* [CAE]S. L. AVREL. VE[RVS]. Head to the right, bare.

Rev. COL. AEL. CAPITO. Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. (De Saulcy, pl. XVII. no. 8.) Æ. I.

The group of the reverse is placed upon a base.

2. *Obv.* . . . AVR. . AVG. Head to the right, laureated.

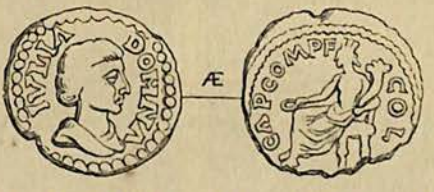
Rev. COL. . . CAP. Turreted female head to the right. Æ. I.

This coin is in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, and was obtained at Jerusalem.[9]

[9] *Num. Chron.* N.S. vol. ii. p. 115.

E. Julia Domna.

A.D. 173—A.D. 217.



Obv. IVLIA. DOMNA. Head of the Empress to the right.

Rev. COL. CAP. COM. P.F. A turreted female seated to the left, holding *patera* and a cornu-copiæ on her left arm. Æ. II.

This is the first known coin of this Empress struck at Jerusalem, and it is in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.[1] It bears the title *Commodiana*, and we may conclude that Commodus may have rendered the colony important service. There are at present no coins known of Commodus struck at Ælia Capitolina.[2] In his insanity he called himself *Hercules Commodianus*, and even dared to name the city of Rome *Colonia Commodiana*.[3] Perhaps the colony of Ælia Capitolina was ordered to adopt the title, or adopted it to gratify his caprices. Though no authenticated coins of Severus, struck at Ælia Capitolina,[4]

[1] *Num. Chron* N. S. vol. ii. p. 115. [2] See p. 216, *note* 9.

[3] On large and second brass coins, COL. L. AN. COM. (*Colonia Lucia Antoniniana Commodiana.*) Cohen, vol. iii. p. 127, nos. 469, 470.

[4] There is one given by Mionnet (vol. v. p. 520, no. 24) with *Greek* legends, an improbable circumstance for a *Latin* colony. (*Cf.* De Saulcy, *Num. Jud.* p. 182.) Cavedoni, however (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 71 *seq.*) has proved that the legend should be read ΚΟΛ ΑΥΒ ΗΑΙΑ ΚΑ (*sic*), and the coin attributed to *Colonia Ælia Carrhæ* in Mesopotamia. There is also one described in the sale catalogue of Capt. Hoare's coins (July 10, 1861, lot 513), but its present possessor, the Rev. Churchill Babington, has kindly informed me that the coin is probably one of Severus' struck at Cæsarea in Samaria. (Mionnet, vol. v. p. 490, no. 23.)

have yet been met with, yet the discovery of this one of his wife, Julia Domna, leads us to infer that his coins were struck there, and that they may some day be found.

F. Caracalla.

A.D. 211—A.D. 217.

Obv. IMP. . . . . TON . . . Bust to the right, radiated, with cuirass (?).

Rev. [COL. AEL. CAP. COMM.]. Head of Serapis to the right, with the *modius*. (De Saulcy, pl. XVIII. no. 1.) Æ. II.

G. Geta.

A.D. 211—A.D. 212.

Obv. P. SEP. GET. CASAR (*sic*) AVG. Bust to the left, bare, with *paludamentum*.

Rev. COLONIA. AELI. CAP. COM. P. FELIK (*sic*). Bacchus standing to the left, holding a bunch of grapes, and a *thyrsus;* at his feet a panther. (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. pl. III. 6.) Æ. II.

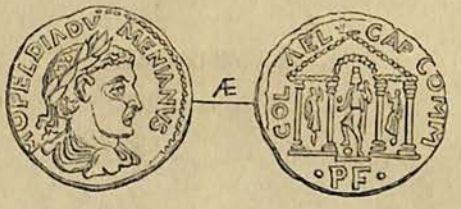
This coin is in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt, and was obtained at Jerusalem.[5] The reverse type is found on a coin of Antoninus Pius.[6]

[5] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 115.

[6] See No. 1, p. 215.

H. Diadumenianus.

A.D. 217—A.D. 217.

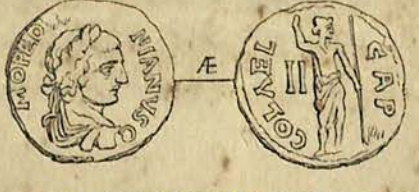


1. *Obv.* M. OPEL. DIADVMENIANVS. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. A turreted figure standing to the left in a tetrastyle temple, holding in right hand an uncertain object, and in left a spear, and placing right foot upon a helmet. Between the spaces of the pillars on either side a Victory standing on globe. In *exergue* P. F. (De Saulcy, pl. XVIII. no. 6.)[7] Æ. II.

2. *Obv.* M. OP. DIADVM ..... Bust to the right, bare, with *paludamentum.*

Rev. COL . . . Bust of Serapis to the right, with the *modius.* (De Saulcy, pl. XVIII. no. 7.) Æ. II.



3. *Obv.* M. OPE. D[IADVME]NIANVS C. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

[7] See Antoninus Pius, No. 5; and Elagabalus, No. 5.

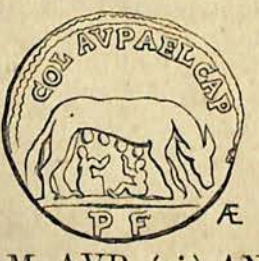
Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. Male figure standing, raising right hand, and holding spear in left; in *field* II. (De Saulcy, pl. XVIII. no. 8.) Æ. II.

I. Elagabalus.

A.D. 218—A.D. 222.

1. *Obv.* . . . . A . . ANTONI . . . Head to the right, laureated.

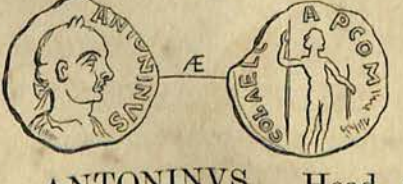
Rev. COL. CAP. COMM. Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. (De Saulcy, pl. XVIII. no. 3.) Æ. II.



2. *Obv.* IMP. C. M. AVP. (*sic*) ANTONINVS. AVG. Bust to the right, laureated, with *paludamentum.*

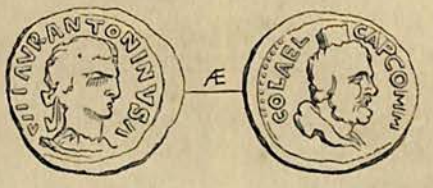
Rev. COL. AVP. (*sic*) AEL. CAP. Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf. In *exergue* P. F. (*Pia Felix.*) (*Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. pl. III. no. 7.) Æ. II.

This coin is in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt. The name of AVP. (AVR? *Aurelia*) does not occur on any other coin of Ælia Capitolina.



3. *Obv.* . . . . ANTONINVS. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. COM. Figure standing, holding spear in right hand. (De Saulcy, pl. XIX. no. 5.) Æ. II.



4. *Obv.* . . . AVR. ANTONINVS. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. Head of Serapis to the right, with the *modius*. (De Saulcy, pl. XVIII. no 4.) Æ. II.

5. *Obv.* IMP. C. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. AEL. CAP. COMM. A turreted figure standing to the left in tetrastyle temple, holding in right hand an uncertain object, and in left a spear, and placing right foot upon a helmet (?). Between the spaces of the pillars on either side a Victory standing on globe. In *exergue* P. F. (British Museum.) Æ. II.

6. *Obv.* IMP. . . . NTONIN. Head to the right, laureated.

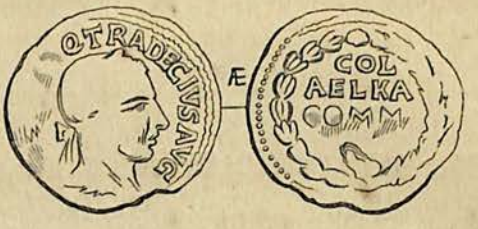
Rev. COL. AEL. CAPIT. A turreted figure standing to the left in a tetrastyle temple; two other deities at each side of her standing on globes in the spaces between the pillars. In *exergue*, letters (probably P. F.). Æ. II.

This coin is in the possession of the Rev. H. C.

Reichardt.[8] The reverse types of these last two coins are somewhat similar to a coin of Antoninus Pius,[9] and to one of Diadumenian.[1]

J. Trajanus Decius.

A.D. 249—A.D. 251.



1. *Obv.* . . . . Q. TRA. DECIVS AVG. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. — AEL. KA.—[COMM] in three lines, within a wreath. (De Saulcy, pl. XIX. no. 1.) Æ. I.

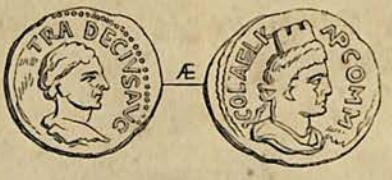
2. *Obv.* . . . MES. Q. TRA. DECIVS AVG. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. AEL. KA. Jupiter seated to left, at his feet an eagle (?).[2] (De Saulcy, pl. XIX. no. 2.) Æ. I.

[8] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 116.

[9] No. 5, p. 216. [1] No. 1, p. 225.

[2] The object in De Saulcy's plate certainly looks like the figure of *a little man.* Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 69, *note* 47) prefers considering the reverse type of this coin, as Mionnet (vol. v. p. 521, no. 31), "the seated Serapis, his right hand stretched out as though to hush the three-headed Cerberus." (*Cf.* Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iv. p. 30.)



3. *Obv.* . . . TRA DECIVS. AVG. Head, to the right, radiated.

Rev. COL. AEL. KAP. COMM. Turreted head of the town to right. (De Saulcy, pl. XIX. no. 3.) Æ. II.

The three following coins are in the possession of the Rev. H. C. Reichardt.[3]

Obv. Q. TR. DECIVS... AVG. Head to the right, radiated.

Rev. . . . L. KAP. COM. P.F. Turreted head of the town to the right. Æ. II.

Obv. . . N. T. CЄ. Q. TR. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. AEL. KA. Female figure standing, holding a globe in her right hand, and a staff in her left: Victory placed on a pillar behind, crowns her; in front, at her feet, a vase. Æ. II.

Obv. IMP. CAES. TRAI. DEKIVS. Head to the right, laureated.

Rev. COL. AEL. KAP. A female standing to the left; on her left arm she holds a cornu-copiæ; her right hand stretched out holding uncertain object. Æ. II.

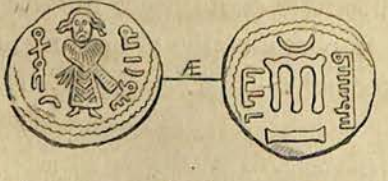
[3] *Num. Chron.* N. S. vol. ii. p. 116.

K. Herennius Etruscus
AND
Hostilianus.
A.D. 249—A.D. 251.

Obv. AETRVSCVS. ET. QVINTVS CAESS. Busts jugate to the right, that of Etruscus radiated, both with *paludamentum*.

Rev. COL. AE. KAP. CO... Bacchus standing, holding a spear, and a bust of Serapis;[4] in *field* to left between his body and the spear, a *thyrsus* (?). (De Saulcy, pl. XIX. no. 4.) Æ. I.

M. De Saulcy[5] has closed the series of the ancient coins of Jerusalem with the first copper pieces, struck in this city by the conquering Arabs. One of these pieces has



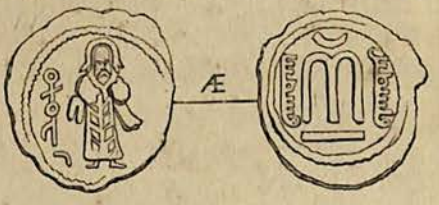
upon the obverse in Cufic characters, 'Mohammed [is the] apostle of God,'[6] with the figure of a Caliph standing, (probably Abd-el-melik, *circ.* A.D. 695, or Muáwiyeh), and on the reverse, 'Palestine' and 'Ælia,' the type being a half-moon over

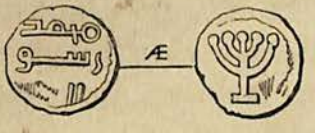
[4] This head Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 69, *note* 47) considers to be that of *Lycurgus* or *Pentheus* (Hygin. *Fab.* 132; Eurip. *Bacch.* ver. 1247).

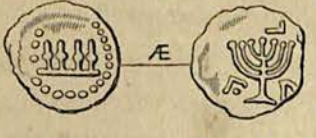
[5] *Num. Jud.* p. 188, pl. XIX. nos. 6, 7.

[6] On a similar coin in the collection of Mr. Wigan, the name of 'Mohammed' is written correctly, but the remaining words, 'Apostle of God,' are reversed.

the letter M, which is very similar to that on the contemporary Byzantine coins. Another example has the same legend on the obverse, but on the reverse, instead of 'Palestine—Ælia,' it has 'Palestine' expressed twice. M. De Vogüé[7] has also published two similar pieces. On the obverse of the first is the legend in Cufic letters, 'Mohammed [is the] apostle of God,' and on the reverse, a five-branched candelabrum. Two specimens of this coin were obtained in Syria. On the second of these coins, there are only traces of a legend and a seven-branched candelabrum, and on the obverse four trees planted parallel to each other. This coin also came from Syria. According to De Vogüé, the candelabra with five or seven branches, which may also be seen on other monuments of the Roman time,[8] and which have become traditional, may have been intended 'faire allusion aux souvenirs judaïques,' and the coins seem to have been struck during the period which separates the Arab conquest from the coining of the first money of the Caliph Abd-el-melik. These coins conveniently close the series of ancient Jewish money.







[7] *Rev. Num.* 1860, p. 291, pl. XIII. nos. 7, 8.

[8] Bas-relief on the column of Titus, and many other references given by De Vogüé (*l. c.*) especially to the dissertation of the late M. l'Abbé Greppo, *Notices sur des inscriptions antiques tirées de quelques tombeaux juifs à Rome.* Lyon, 1835, 8vo.

CHAPTER XI.

MONEY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

A. Greek Money.

The Greek coins mentioned in the New Testament are the *drachm*, the *stater*, and the *lepton*. The *didrachm* is spoken of as a money of account.[1] Money in general is also spoken of in several passages. When our Lord sent forth the twelve disciples, he instructed them—"Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass (*χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ χαλκὸν*) in your purses [girdles, *ζώνας*]."[2] In the parallel passage of St. Mark,[3] the word *χαλκὸν* (copper money) is only used, whilst St. Luke[4] employs the term *ἀργύριον* (money). The word *χαλκὸν* is also employed to signify 'money' in St. Mark,[5] where he speaks of the crowd coming to throw 'money into the treasury.' St. Luke,[6] in the parallel passage, has *τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν* (their gifts). The employment of *χαλκὸν* for 'money' is accounted for from the fact of a copper currency having been the chief coinage of Palestine. We have seen this in the coinage of the Herodian family. The silver that was current was chiefly that of the principal cities of Phœnicia and Syria.

In speaking of the *drachm* and *didrachm*, it is necessary

[1] The *μνᾶ*, which was a Greek weight, is also mentioned as a money of account in the Parable of the Ten Pounds (Luke xix. 12—27), as also the *τάλαντον* in the Parable of the Talents (Matt. xxv. 14—30). Sixty minæ went to the talent, and their weight depended on the weight of the talent.

[2] Matt. x. 9. [3] Mark vi. 8.

[4] Luke ix. 3. [5] Mark xii. 41. [6] Luke xxi. 1.

to allude to the passages in the Old Testament and Apocrypha in which they occur.

The *drachm* was one of the principal silver coins of the Greeks, and became current among the Jews after the exile.

It occurs in the following passages of the second Book of Maccabees: 'Jason sent special messengers from Jerusalem, who were Antiochians, to carry three hundred drachms to the sacrifice of Hercules' (*ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς* [Vulg. '*didrachmas*] *τριακοσίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυσίαν*), 2 Maccab. iv. 19.

'The seventy thousand drachms (*ἑπτάκις δὲ μυριάδας δραχμὰς* [Vulg. *didrachmis*]), which those, who were left by Judas in the stronghold of the Idumæans, stole,' 2 Maccab. x. 20.

'Judas collected two thousand drachms of silver (*εἰς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας* [Vulg. *duodecim millia drachmas argenti*]), and sent them to Jerusalem to offer a sin-offering,' 2 Maccab. xii. 43.

It also occurs once in the New Testament—'Either what woman having ten pieces of silver (*δραχμὰς δέκα*) if she lose one piece, doth not light a candle and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it,' Luke xv. 8.

It is of different weights, according to the use of the several talents.[7]

1. The drachm of the Æginetan talent, which was frequent in Greece and the islands in early times, gives a maximum average of 96 grains. The early coins, however, give an average of 92·3. From the examination of Mr. Burgon's weights from Athens, Mr. Poole has ascertained that the drachm used for the coins of Ægina was of the commercial talent of Athens, and that as a weight it was as heavy as 99·8 grains.

[7] For fuller and further particulars relative to the drachm of the different talents, see Chapter on 'Weights.'

2. The drachm of the first Phœnician, Macedonian, and Ptolemaic talent, which is but the heavier Æginetan, and which was used in Thrace and Macedon before the time of Alexander the Great, and restored in the coinage of the Kings of Egypt, weighed about 110 grains.

3. The drachm of the late Phœnician or Persian talent weighed, according to Mr. Burgon,[8] between 58 and 59 grains.

4. The drachm (?) of the Euboïc talent, which was an Eastern system, as obtained from the coins of Eubœa, weighed 63 grains.

5. The drachm of the Attic talent, which became almost universal upon the accession of Alexander, weighed about 66·7 grains. Mr. Burgon's weights from Athens show this drachm, as a weight, to have been as heavy as 71·7 grains. About B.C. 25 it weighed only 61·3 grains, becoming very nearly equal to the Roman *denarius*, which averaged 60 grains. It eventually fell to 57 grains, or even lower.[9]

The drachms mentioned in the Maccabees are most probably of the Seleucidæ, and therefore of the Attic standard. Those mentioned in St. Luke are doubtless *denarii*, for at that time the Attic drachm and *denarius* were identical. This being a recognised fact, the curious passage in Josephus, relative to the shekel, receives a satisfactory explanation. Josephus[1] says, '*ὁ δὲ σικλὸς, νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὤν, Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δράχμας τέσσαρας,*' and at this period the *denarius* was almost equal to a quarter of a Maccabæan shekel. Josephus is therefore speaking of four of the current Attic drachms, to which four *denarii* of his time were equal. There are pieces of Nero struck at Ephesus, a little earlier than the time of

[8] Thomas, *Sale Cat.* Greek Coins, p. 57.

[9] See below, under *Denarius*, p. 246.

[1] *Antiq.* iii. 8, 2.

Josephus, upon which may be seen the word ΔΡΑΧΜΗ, and weighing 56 grains, the exact weight of the Roman *denarius*, and also others with ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ weighing 113 grains, being the double. The word ΔΡΑΧΜΑ occurs also on autonomous copper coins of Byzantium.

Didrachm is properly the name of a coin equal to two drachmæ. The Septuagint renders the Hebrew shekel of the Old Testament by didrachmon, and didrachmon is itself rendered in the English version of the New Testament by 'tribute.' The extant shekels, which are of the Maccabæan period, have almost exactly the same weight as a Ptolemaic so-called tetradrachm. If then the shekel equals a tetradrachm, how can we account for the Septuagint rendering it by didrachm?

The answer to this question was suggested by the late Col. Leake.[2] "In Phoenicia, as well as in Judæa, it appears that a unity of weight existed, named shekel from *shakal*, to weigh, that is to say, it was 'the weight' *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*. And this weight appears to have been the same as the Egyptian unit of weight, for we learn from Horapollo that the Μονὰς or unit, which they held to be the basis of all numeration, was equal to two drachmæ;[3] and *δίδραχμον* is employed synonymously with *σίκλος* for the Hebrew word shekel by the Greek Septuagint, consequently, the shekel and the didrachmon were of the same weight. I am aware that some learned commentators are of opinion that the translators here meant a didrachmon of the Græco-Egyptian scale, which weighed about 110

[2] *Numismata Hellenica, Appendix*, pp. 2, 3; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xvii. p. 205 *seq.*

[3] Παρ' Αἰγυπτιοις Μονάς ἐστιν αἱ δύο δραχμαί. Μονὰς δε παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ γένεσις. Εὐλόγως οὖν δύο δράχμας βουλόμενοι δηλῶσαι γῦπα γράφουσι, ἔπει μήτηρ δοκεῖ καὶ γένεσις εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Μονάς, i. 11.

grains; but it is hardly credible that *δίδραχμον* should have been thus employed without any distinguishing epithet, at a time when the Ptolemaic scale was yet of recent origin, the word didrachmon, on the other hand, having for ages been applied to a silver money of about 130 grains, in the currency of all cities which followed the Attic or Corinthian standard, as well as in the silver money of Alexander the Great and his successors. In all these currencies, as well as in those of Lydia and Persia, the stater was an Attic didrachmon, or at least with no greater difference of standard than occurs among modern nations using the same denomination of weight and measure; and hence the word *δίδραχμον* was employed as a measure of weight, without any reference to its origin in the Attic drachma. Thus we find the drachma of gold described as equivalent to ten didrachma,[4] and the half-shekel of the Pentateuch translated by the Septuagint *τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου*. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Attic, and not the Græco-Ægyptian didrachmon was intended by them.....

"The half-shekel of silver paid to the Lord by every male of the children of Israel as a ransom for his soul,[5] had nothing in common with the tribute paid by the Jews to the Roman Emperor. The tribute was a *denarius*, in the English version 'a penny;'[6] the duty to the Temple was a didrachmon, two of which made a stater. It appears then that the half-shekel of ransom had, in the time of our Saviour, been converted into the payment of a didrachmon to the Temple, and two of these didrachma formed a stater

[4] Hesychius in *δραχμή*.

[5] *Τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου ὅ ἐστι κατὰ τὸ δίδραχμον τὸ ἅγιον, εἴκοσι ὀβολοὶ τὸ δίδραχμον, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου εἰσφορὰ Κυρίῳ . . . . . ἐξιλάσασθαι περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.* Exod. xxx. 13—15.

[6] See later, p. 247.

of the Jewish currency. This stater was evidently the extant 'Shekel Israel,' which was a tetradrachmon of the Ptolemaic scale, though generally below the standard weight, like most of the extant specimens of the Ptolemies; the didrachmon paid to the Temple was therefore of the same monetary scale. Thus the duty to the Temple was converted from the half of an Attic to the whole of a Ptolemaic didrachmon, and the tax was nominally raised in the proportion of about 105 to 65; but probably the value of silver had fallen as much in the two preceding centuries."

We here learn that the Egyptian unit was a didrachm. The suggestion that the Septuagint intended the Attic weight involves a difficulty, for the didrachm of the Septuagint would be a shekel, and the didrachm of the New Testament a half-shekel. It is, however, extremely probable that the Alexandrian Jews adopted the term 'didrachm' as the common name of the coin which was equal in weight to the shekel,—the Ptolemaic didrachm *not* tetradrachm — and was not necessarily a piece of money, there being few, if any, Attic didrachms current in the time of our Lord. This observation, as has been suggested by Mr. Poole,[7] is singularly corroborated in the account of the miracle of the tribute-money, where St. Peter finds in the fish a *stater*, which he paid for our Lord and himself.[8]

The Jews, when dispersed throughout the world, still continued to pay the half-shekel for the use of the Temple —*τὸ τε δίδραχμον, ὅ τῷ θέῳ καταβάλλειν ἑκάστοις πά-*

[7] Article 'Money,' Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*

[8] *Προσῆλθον οἱ* ΤΑ ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΑ *λαμβάνοντες τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ εἶπαν,* 'Ο *διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν οὐ τελεῖ* ΤΑ ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΑ; *λέγει Ναί . . . . . ἵνα δὲ μὴ σκανδαλίσωμεν αὐτούς, πορευθεὶς εἰς θάλασσαν βάλε ἄγκιστρον, καὶ τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἰχθὺν ἆρον· καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εὑρήσεις* ΣΤΑΤΗΡΑ· *ἐκεῖνον λαβὼν δὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ.* Matt. xvii. 24—27.

τριον.[9] Here again arises an apparent difficulty, for we have just proved that δίδραχμον was the term used as the common name for the coin equal in weight to the *shekel*, and Josephus therefore should have said τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου to express the tax of *half a shekel*. But Josephus probably employs the term τὸ δίδραχμον as St. Matthew does the plural τὰ δίδραχμα to express the *tax*, and not the payment—the shekel-tax—rather laxly rendered in the authorised version "tribute money." Again, Josephus, who speaks of the shekel as equal to four Attic drachms, each of which drachm (or denarius) was equivalent to the quarter of a Maccabæan shekel,[1] here employs the word δίδραχμον to represent δύο δραχμαί, or half a shekel. After the taking of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple, Vespasian ordered the Jews, in whatever country they might be, to pay the sum of *two drachmæ* to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as they had previously paid to the temple at Jerusalem.[2] Again, after the defeat of Bar-cochab in the second revolt, the tax, which is called ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων, is described as very heavy,[3] and even as late as A.D. 226, in the time of Alexander Severus, the Jews continued to pay the didrachm.[4]

[9] Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 9, 1. See also Cic. *Pro Flacco*, 28; and Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, E. Moxon, 1839, p. 83. [1] See p. 234.

[2] Φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὁπουδήποτ' οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλε, δύο δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νέων συνετέλουν. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 6.—Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμον, ἐτάχθη, τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διΐ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. Dion Cass. lxvi. 7.

[3] Ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας. Appian. *Syr.* 50. As regards περιουσίας "ingeniosius quam verius περιουσίας in περιοικίας mutatum voluit MVSGR." See ed. Schweighaeuser, vol. iii. part 2, p. 571.

[4] Καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαίων δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς (sc. Ῥωμαίοις) τελούντων. Origen. *Letter to Africanus*, ed. De la Rue, vol. i. p. 28.

The word ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ, as already mentioned,[5] occurs upon a silver coin of Nero, struck at Ephesus, which has the weight of two *denarii*. The same word also occurs on some of the copper autonomous coins of Rhodes, as well as on a large brass of Nerva, struck in the same island.

We have now to deal with the *stater*, which, as we have seen, was the coin found in the fish for the payment of the Hebrew sacred tax.[6] The word *stater*, which means *standard*, was a term applied to coins of gold, *electrum*, and silver. The principal gold staters were the Darics (στατῆρες Δαρεικοι), those of Crœsus (Κροισεῖοι), and those of Athens.[7] The two former appear always to have been *didrachms* of the Perso-Euboic, and the latter a *didrachm* of the Attic talent. The term *stater* was also applied to the *tetradrachm* of Athens, and to the *gold tetradrachm* (commonly called octodrachm) of the Ptolemies, and from this it may be inferred that it was a *standard* of both metals. The coin then that was so miraculously supplied for the payment of the tribute was doubtless one of the tetradrachms of the cities of Syria, which were of the same

weight as the shekel, and were current in Palestine. "It is observable," says Mr. Poole, "in confirmation of the minute accuracy of the Evangelist, that at this period the silver currency in Palestine consisted of Greek imperial tetradrachms, or staters, and Roman *denarii* of a quarter their

[5] See p. 235. [6] See p. 237.

[7] For full accounts of the different staters see the 'Numismatic articles' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, and also Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Stater*.

value, didrachms having fallen into disuse. Had two didrachms been found by St. Peter, the receivers of tribute would scarcely have taken them; and no doubt the ordinary coin paid was that miraculously supplied." He also has remarked to me that the tribute was always paid in full weight, and that therefore the date of this Gospel must be of a time when staters of pure silver were current. Probably none are later than the first century.

We have already observed that the Septuagint have employed the word *ἀργύριον* in the Old Testament to express the Hebrew word כסף, and that this latter has been rendered in the Authorised Version by 'piece of silver,'[8] a form likewise used to explain the *δραχμή* of St. Luke.[9] The word *ἀργύριον* is also employed in the Acts,[1] and again occurs in the account of the betrayal of our Lord for 'thirty pieces of silver' (*τριάκοντα ἀργύρια*).[2] These silver pieces have usually been considered to be *denarii*, but a curious and ingenious suggestion has recently been made by Mr. Poole. The parallel passage in Zechariah[3] may throw some light upon the subject. The Authorised Version has 'thirty *pieces* of silver,' whilst the Septuagint reads the passage, thirty *silvers* (*τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς*). It is proposed to understand this passage as meaning 'thirty *shekels* of silver,' which receives some corroboration from the fact of 'thirty *shekels* of silver' being the price of blood to be paid in the case of a servant accidentally killed.[4] In this case the passages in St. Matthew must also

[8] See p. 7. [9] See p. 233. [1] Acts xix. 19.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 3, 5, 6, 9.

[3] Zech. xi. 12, 13. In the received text of St. Matthew, the prophecy as to the 'thirty pieces of silver' is ascribed to Jeremiah. It has been thought to have been quoted from memory, and inaccurately (Alford *in loc.*), but the Syriac version omits the name of Jeremiah and merely says 'the prophet.'

[4] Exod. xxi. 32.

be understood as *shekels*, but not as current shekels, for there were none current at this time. Mr. Poole[5] has now suggested that the tetradrachms of the Greek cities of Syria or Phoenicia in the time of our Lord, which have the same weight as the shekels of Simon Maccabæus, of which tetradrachms we have also seen that the *stater* was a specimen,[6] were the coins which composed 'thirty pieces of silver' for which our Lord was betrayed.

The mite (λέπτον), which was originally a small Greek copper coin, of which at Athens seven went to the χαλκοῦς, was the smallest coin current in Palestine in the time of our Lord. We have spoken of it at some length in the Chapter on Weights.

The κόλλυβος, of which there is no direct mention, though it can be discovered in the term κολλυβιστής of the Gospels, has been already alluded to by Mr. Akerman, in his *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament.*[7] The word *collybus* appears not only to have signified a 'small coin,'[8] but also 'the changing of silver.'[9] The κολλυβισταί, or money changers,[1] were persons who exchanged foreign coin, brought by the Jews from distant countries, for coins current in Judæa. They used to sit in the porches of the Temple, and make their gain by charging a small commission for changing the foreign money, which enabled

[5] Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Piece of silver.*

[6] See p. 239. [7] Page 18.

[8] Cic. *In Verr. Act.* ii. lib. iii. 78; *Att.* xii. 6; Aristoph. *Pax.* ver. 1199; Καὶ κόλλυβον, λεπτὸν τι νομισμάτιον. Pollux, *Onom.* lib. ix. 6. See also Suet. *In Aug.* c. 4.

[9] Ἀργυρίου ἀλλαγὴ, ὁ καλούμενος κόλλυβος. Pollux, *Onom.* lib. iii. 9; *cf.* lib. vii. 33. Castell, in his Lexicon, at the word קלב, says, "The change (*collybus*) or the loss in changing a coin is an obolus of silver—מעה כסף." (*Rev. Num.* 1858, p. 364.)

[1] Matt. xxi. 12; Mark xi. 15; John ii. 15. *Cf.* also the term τραπεζίτης in Matt. xxv. 27.

the Jews to pay the half-shekel tax to the Temple.[2] They took their seats yearly on the 25th day of the month Adar. The tax could only be paid in Jewish money, and consequently explains the reason of the term *κολλυβιστής*.

B. Roman Money.

The terms employed by the Romans to designate 'money' are *numisma*, *nummus*, or *numus*, *pecunia*, *aes*, and *moneta*. The first two are derived from *νόμος*, a word transferred into the Latin language through the Dorian Greeks of Sicily and Italy.[3] Suidas[4] and Isidorus[5] absurdly pretend that they are derived from the name of Numa Pompilius. Money was called *pecunia* from its meaning property, riches, wealth, from *pecus*, cattle; but not so called, as Pliny says,[6] because the ancient Roman coins represent an ox or a sheep. It was called *aes* from the earliest Roman money being of brass, and *moneta* —hence our word money—because money was struck at Rome in the temple of Juno Moneta.[7]

The Roman money mentioned in the New Testament is the *as*, the *dupondius*, and the *quadrans* of copper, and the *denarius* of silver. We will speak of the first three of these in connection with each other, as they are all rendered in our Authorised Version by the word 'farthing.' The Greek name of the Roman *as* or *assarius* is *ἀσσάριον*, and this word is the one we find in the LXX, rendered in one instance in the Vulgate by *as*, and in the other by *dupondius*. The first passage is in St. Matthew x. 29, Οὐχὶ *δύο στρουθία ἀσσαρίου*

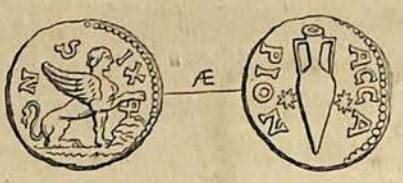
[2] Exod. xxx. 13—15. [3] Pollux, *Onom.* ix. 79. [4] s. v. *ἀσσαρία*.
[5] *De Orig.* xvi. 17. [6] N. H. xviii. 3; xxiii. 13: see p. 7.
[7] Livy, vi. 20; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 18.

πωλεῖται; "nonne duo passeres *asse* veneunt?" The second passage is in St. Luke xii. 6, Οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλοῦνται ἀσσαρίων δύο; "nonne quinque passeres veneunt *dipondio?*" It is very clear from the fact of the word *dupondius* or *dipondius*, which was equal to two *asses*, and was a coin of itself, being substituted for the *two assaria* of the Greek text, that a single coin is intended by this latter expression. This idea is fully borne out by the coins of Chios. The Greek autonomous copper coins of this place have inscribed upon them the words ACCAPION, ACCAPIA ΔΥΩ or ΔΥΟ and ACCAPIA TPIA. There are also copper coins of Chios with the word HMYACCAPION (*sic*). This, according to Polybius, was the sum given by travellers in Italy for a day's living, and he adds, that it was equal to the fourth part of the *obolus*.[8] The ἀσσάριον would, according to this, be equal to half the *obolus*. The *obolus* was the sixth part of the *drachm*, and two *oboli* are stated by Polybius to have been the daily pay of a foot-soldier.[9] The Attic *drachm* and the *denarius* were at this time identical, and a *denarius*, in paying the soldiers, was estimated as ten *asses*, therefore two *oboli* a-day would be equal to $3\frac{1}{3}$ *asses*. In this case the ἀσσάριον would be equal to rather more than half the *obolus*. On an examination of the coins of Chios, in the British Museum, with the above denominations, it is certain that there were two (or perhaps more) systems of coinage, a greater and a lesser. The greater gives an average *assarion* of 85.45 grains, and the lesser, one of 36.16. The coins are probably of the time of Augustus.[1] The specimen here engraved is the

[8] Ἡμιασσαρίου, τοῦτο δ' ἐστι τέταρτον μέρος ὀβολοῦ, *Hist.* ii. 15, 6.

[9] *Reliq.* vi. 39, 12.

[1] On one of them may be found the word ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 567.)



assarion of the greater system, and weighs 79 grains, being only 6.45 grains of lower weight than it ought to be.[2]

In the passages given above from Polybius, the *assarion* and *obolus* are mentioned in connection with each other. The *obolus* was originally a silver coin, and, as above stated, the sixth part of the drachm, yet copper *oboli* are known to have existed, and the word OBOΛOC occurs on a copper coin of Chios. It is also found on a copper coin of Metapontum in Lucania. This latter is extremely curious, as from its style and fabric it cannot be later than B.C. 300. It has been suggested that it was struck in a time of extreme public distress.[3] Vitruvius, whose writings may be fixed between the reigns of Augustus and Titus, states that the Greeks employed copper *oboli*,[4] and Lucian, who was born about A.D. 120, speaks of the *obolus* of copper as a coin of common occurrence.[5]

The third copper piece, also rendered in our Authorised Version by 'farthing,' now claims our attention. The Greek word is *κοδράντης*, which is merely a transcription of

[2] The *assarion* of the N. T. must, most probably, be sought for among the Greek Imperial coins. (See Chapter on Weights.)

[3] Millingen, *Num. de l'Ancienne Italie*, pp. 25, 26.

[4] Illæ enim aereos signatos ex æquo sex, quos *obolos* appellant, constituerunt. Lib. iii. 1.

[5] *Οἶδα γὰρ τὸν χαλκὸν, ὀβολὸν, ὡς οἶσθα, παρὰ τῶν καταπλεόντων ἑκάστου ἐκλέγων.* Lucian, *Contempl.* Didot, ed. p. 133. On two *copper* coins of Aretas, a cotemporary of Pompey, which are published by the Duc de Luynes (*Rev. Num.* 1858, p. 295, no. 11; p. 296, no. 13), the words מעה כסף and חצי כסף may be found. The Duke has explained them by "(value of) silver obol" and "half obol of silver." The Chaldee word מעא or מעה answers to the Hebrew גרה and אגורה, both of which are equivalent to the *obolus* (see p. 7, *note* 8). The words *δράχμη* and *εἰδραχμον*, which are names for silver coins, also occur on the copper. (See pp. 235, 239.)

the Latin *quadrans*. The *quadrans*, which was also called *teruncius*, was the fourth part of the Roman *as*, and had three balls to denote its value. In the early times of the Republic there were pieces of a smaller value than the *quadrans*, viz., the *sextans*, or sixth part of the *as;* the *uncia*, or twelfth part; and the *semi-uncia*, or half-ounce; but in the time of Cicero (circ. B.C. 62) we find it stated to be the smallest Roman brass coin.[6] According to St. Mark it was equal to two *lepta*.[7] The *lepton* was the smallest Greek copper coin; and, according to Suidas,[8] was the seventh part of the χαλκοῦς.[9] The copper currency in Palestine, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius, consisted partly of Roman coins and partly of Græco-Roman or Greek Imperial. It is excessively probable that the κοδράντης and λέπτον belonged to the latter. The former of these pieces is apparently the quarter of the *assarion*, and the latter the eighth.[1]

Denarius, rendered in the Authorised Version 'penny,'[2] was the name given to the principal silver coin from its being at first equivalent to ten *asses*, but on the reduction of the weight of the *as* it was made equal to sixteen *asses*, and though the soldier nominally received a *denarius* per diem, he was only paid *ten asses*.[3] According to Pliny,

[6] Τὸ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κοναδράντην ἐκάλουν. Plutarch. *in Cic.* xxix. 26.

[7] Λεπτὰ δυο ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης, xii. 42.

[8] S. vv. τάλαντον and ὀβολός.

[9] See p. 241. The phrase, 'Till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing (κόδραντην),' in Matt. v. 26, is rendered in Luke xii. 59, by 'Till thou hast paid the very last mite (λέπτον).'

[1] See Chapter on 'Weights.'

[2] Matt. xviii. 28; xx. 2, 9, 13; xxii. 19. Mark vi. 37; xii. 15; xiv. 5. Luke vii. 41; x. 35; xx. 24. John vi. 7; xii. 5. Rev. vi. 6.

[3] In militari stipendio denarius pro decem assibus datus. Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 3.—Denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari. Tacit. *Ann.* i. 17.

silver was not coined at Rome till B.C. 269, but Mommsen[4] prefers considering that the actual coinage did not commence till B.C. 268. The gold was not struck till some years later. According to some MSS. 62 years later, according to the Bamburg MS. 51 years. The former date equals B.C. 206, the latter B.C. 217. It is best to consider the date B.C. 217 as the correct one, on account of other extensive changes which took place in that year. [For this question see Mommsen.]

There were originally 84 *denarii* struck to the pound, but subsequently, under Nero, 96. The Attic drachm which weighed, according to some, 66·5 Troy grains, and according to others 67·37, continued in use until an uncertain period after the death of Alexander the Great;

	Troy grains.
About B.C. 223—187 it had fallen to	65·3—65.0
About B.C. 125—70 it further fell to	63·1—62·8
About B.C. 25 it weighed only . .	61·4—61·3

and then became very nearly equal to the Roman *denarius*, the weight of which may be fixed at 60 grains.[5] After the time of Nero the *denarius* weighed about 52 grains. . There is no doubt that most of the silver currency in Palestine, during the New Testament period, consisted of *denarii*. The 'pieces of silver' in the Acts,[6] rendered by the word ἀργύρια, doubtless represent *denarii*, as also the ten pieces of silver (δραχμὰς δέκα) mentioned in St. Luke.[7] A *denarius* was the day's pay for a labourer in Palestine at the time of our Lord;[8] and in this country a penny a day

[4] *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*, p. 289.

[5] Thomas Burgon, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. viii. p. 89.

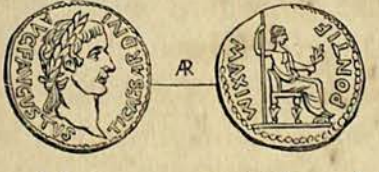
[6] Acts xix. 19. For the 'piece of silver' mentioned in St. Matthew, see p. 240.

[7] Luke xv. 8, 9. See pp. 233, 240.

[8] Matt. xx. 2, 9, 10, 13. *Cf.* "But tell me what wages shall I give thee? wilt thou a *drachm* a day?" Tobit v. 14.

appears to have been the pay of a field-labourer in the middle ages.[1]

Under the Republic the earliest *denarii* had upon the obverse the heads of Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Janus, Jupiter, and afterwards the head of Rome, helmeted, and behind it X, to represent *denarius;* but under the Empire the *denarius* bore the title and effigies of the reigning Cæsar. Hence our Lord says to the Pharisees, who had brought to him a penny to tempt him, "Whose is this image and superscription? and they say unto him Cæsar's. Then saith he unto them, Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's."[2] The title of Cæsar—as well as that of Augustus —was common to all the coins of the Roman Emperors, and the name of Tiberius, who was the Cæsar alluded to by the Pharisees, is abbreviated TI, while the name CAESAR is at length. It is excessively probable that the



coin here engraved is a representation of the actual type that was shown to our Lord. This was the tribute money payable by the Jews to the Roman Emperor,[3] and

[1] Akerman, *Numismatic Illustrations of N. T.* p. 8. It has been remarked (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Wages*) that the traditional remembrance of the sum of 'a penny a day' for wages may have suggested the mention of "drachmas, wrung from the hard hands of peasants." (Shakspere, *Jul. Cæs.* Act IV. Scene 3.)

[2] Matt. xxii. 19—21.

[3] Ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὔ;—Ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου· οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον. Matt. xxii. 17, 19; *cf.* Mark xii. 14. Καίσαρι φόρον δοῦναι;—Δείξατέ μοι δηνάριον. Luke xx. 22, 24. The Jews, when accusing our Lord before Pilate, *falsely* accused him of "forbidding to give tribute (φόρους) to Cæsar." Luke xxiii. 2. The κησὸς was a poll-tax, and the φόρος a payment for state purposes.

must not be confounded with the tribute paid to the Temple.[4]

The name *denarius* was used for other coins. Pliny mentions a *denarius aureus*,[5] by which he very probably means the common *aureus*, and a copper *denarius*, is spoken of by Vopiscus,[6] as being of the time of Aurelian.

They are equivalent in these two passages. Φόρος differs from τέλος, which was the custom's duty. τὸν φόρον, τὸ τέλος. Rom. xiii. 6, 7.

[4] See δίδραχμον, p. 236.

[5] Plin. xxxiii. 13; xxxiv. 17; xxxvii. 3.

[6] *Vit. Aurel.* 9; cf. *Vit. Probi*, 4.

CHAPTER XII.

WEIGHTS.

In laying before my readers the following chapter upon the Weights of the Jewish coins, which have been described, it is necessary to say a few words in explanation of the course I have here adopted.[1] Upon the publication of Dr. Levy's work I had hoped to find a thorough investigation of the subject, but he does not seem to have obtained any evidence of moment, either from the lions from Nineveh, or from the lion from Abydos, or from the Carthaginian weight, beyond establishing that the latter has no connection with the Hebrew. Mr. Norris, who first examined the lions and ducks discovered by Layard, also first deciphered the inscriptions, and proved that these lions and ducks were weights; but the results obtained from this examination do not sufficiently explain many difficulties. The timely discovery of the weights from Athens, all of which had been carefully weighed by Mr. Burgon (who fortunately had left a record of the weights in his own handwriting), gave a new hope for the better elucidation of the subject; and the small ducks from Babylon, which had never before been noticed, offered additional inducement for a fresh investigation into the system of ancient weights. It so happened that at this time my colleague, Mr. Poole, was doubtful

[1] The principal authorities upon the subject of "Ancient Weights" are Böckh's *Metrologische Untersuchungen*; Mommsen, *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*; Hussey, *Ancient Weights*; Queipo, *Essai sur les systèmes Métriques et Monétaires des Anciens Peuples*; and R. S. Poole, Art. *Weights*, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*.

whether he should undertake to write the article "Weights" for Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.* The new discoveries, however, and the feeling that much had to be done, especially from monuments, added to my own entreaties (though he was very ill at the time), at last induced him to accept the task. His intimate practical acquaintance with Greek coins and their denominations fully enabled him to grapple with the subject, and as his article was intended to be printed long before the publication of this chapter of my book, I willingly rendered him all the assistance that I could, feeling assured that the results would be of such worth that I could do no better than adopt them. Nor was I mistaken, and I have now much pleasure in laying before my readers the results of Mr. Poole's researches. I may add that all the sentences which are in his own words are placed between *inverted commas.* I have thought it right to introduce, under 'Babylonian Talent,' a description of the inscriptions on the Lions and Ducks. For the interpretation of the Phœnician I am indebted to Mr. Vaux, and for that of the Cuneiform to Mr. Coxe. At the end of the chapter are some remarks by myself on the weights of the copper coinage from the time of the Herods.

Having now sufficiently explained my reasons for the arrangement of the material in this chapter, I proceed to the examination of "Ancient Weights." Mr. Poole commences his article by observing, that "the disagreement of the opinions respecting ancient weights that have been formed on the evidence of the Greek and Latin writers, shows the importance of giving the first place to the evidence of monuments. The evidence of the Bible is clear, except in the case of one passage, but it requires a monumental commentary. The general principle of the present inquiry was to give the evidence of the monuments the preference on all doubtful points, and to compare it with

that of literature, so as to ascertain the purport of statements, which otherwise appeared to be explicable in two or even three different ways. Thus, if a certain talent is said to be equal to so many Attic drachms, these are usually explained to be drachms on the old, or commercial, standard, or on Solon's reduced standard, or again on the further reduced standard, equal to that of Roman *denarii* of the early Emperors; but if we ascertain from weights or coins, the weight of the talent in question, we can decide with what standard it is compared, unless the text is hopelessly corrupt."

Mr. Poole then gives seven postulates, some of which are rather strict; "but," he says, "it must be recollected that some, if not all, of the systems to be considered, have a mutual relation that is very apt to lead the enquirer to visionary results, if he does not use great caution in his investigations." The following are the postulates:

"1. All ancient Greek systems of weight were derived, either directly or indirectly, from an Eastern source.

2. All the older systems of ancient Greece and Persia, the Æginetan, the Attic, the Babylonian, and the Euboïc, are divisible either by 6000, or by 3600.

3. The 6000th or 3600th part of the talent is a divisor of all higher weights and coins, and a multiple of all lower weights and coins, except its two-thirds.

4. Coins are always somewhat below the standard weight.

5. The statements of ancient writers as to the relation of different systems are to be taken either as indicating original or current relation. When a set of statements shows a special study of metrology we must infer original relation; isolated statements may rather be thought to indicate current relation. All the statements of a writer, which are not borrowed, probably indicate either the one or the other kind of relation.

6. The statements of ancient writers are to be taken

in their seemingly-obvious sense, or discarded altogether as incorrect or unintelligible.

7. When a certain number of drachms or other denominations of one metal are said to correspond to a certain number of drachms or other denominations of another metal, it must not be assumed that the system is the same in both cases.

"The information respecting the Hebrew weights that is contained in direct statements necessitates an examination of the systems used by, or known to, the Greeks as late as Alexander's time. We begin with such an examination, then state the direct data for the determination of the Hebrew system or systems, and finally endeavour to effect that determination, adding a comparative view of all our main results.

"i. *Early Greek talents.*—Three principal systems were used by the Greeks before the time of Alexander, those of the Æginetan, the Attic, and the Euboïc talents.

The Æginetan talent.—"1. The Æginetan talent is stated to have contained 60 minae, and 6000 drachms. The following points are incontestably established on the evidence of ancient writers. Its drachm was heavier than the Attic, by which, when unqualified, we mean the drachm of the full monetary standard, weighing about 67·5 grains Troy. Pollux states that it contained 10,000 Attic drachms and 100 Attic minae. Aulus Gellius, referring to the time of Demosthenes, speaks of a talent being equal to 10,000 drachms, and, to leave no doubt, says they would be the same number of denarii, which in his own time were equal to current reduced Attic drachms, the terms drachms and denarii being then used interchangeably. In accordance with these statements, we find a monetary system to have been in use in Macedonia and Thrace, of which the drachm weighs about 110 grs., in very nearly the proportion required to the Attic (6 : 10 :: 67·5 : 112·5).

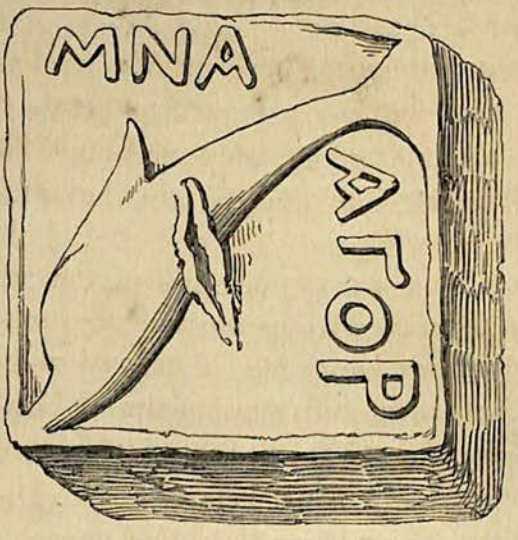
"The silver coins of Ægina, however, and of many

ancient Greek cities, follow a lower standard, of which the drachm has an average maximum weight of about 96 grs. The famous Cyzicene staters of electrum appear to follow the same standard as the coins of Ægina, for they weigh about 240 grs., and are said to have been equal in value to 28 Attic drachms of silver, a Daric (of 129 grs.) being equal to 20 such drachms, which would give the Cyzicenes (20 : 129 : : 28 : 180) three-fourths of gold, the very proportion assigned to the composition of electrum by Pliny.[2] If we may infer that the silver was not counted in the value, the Cyzicenes would be equal to low didrachms of Ægina. The drachm obtained from the silver coins of Ægina has very nearly the weight, 92·3 grs., that Boeckh assigns to that of Athens before Solon's reduction, of which the system continued in use afterwards as the Commercial talent. The coins of Athens give a standard, 67·5 grs., for the Solonian drachm that does not allow, taking that standard for the basis of computation, a higher weight for the ante-Solonian drachm than about that computed by Boeckh.

"An examination of Mr. Burgon's weights from Athens in the British Museum, has, however, induced us to infer a higher standard in both cases. These weights bear inscriptions which prove their denominations, and that they follow two systems. One weighing 9980 grains troy

[2] This is a mistake. Pliny says that the proportions of gold and silver in the composition of *electrum* are 4 parts of the former to 1 part of the latter (Ubicumque *quinta* argenti portio est, et *electrum* vocatur. N. H. xxxiii. 4, 23). This proportion would give 192 grains for the gold or a full Æginetan didrachm (240 ÷ 5 = 48; 240 — 48 = 192). If, however, Pliny refers to the *electrum* of the coins of Asia Minor, he is wrong, and the mistake would easily have been occasioned by a confusion between ⅓ within 4, and ¼ added, the former, according to general opinion, being the proportion of the coins, the latter, that he mentions. Mr. Poole has then unconsciously suggested what Pliny should have said.—E. W. M.

has the inscription MNA ΑΓΟΡ (Μνᾶ ἀγοραῖος?) another



weighing 7171, simply MNA. We have therefore two systems evidently in the relation of the Commercial Attic, and the Solonian Attic (9980 : 7171 : : 138·88 : 99·7 instead of 100), a conclusion borne out by the fuller data given a little later (§ i. 2). The lower weight is distinguished by ΔΕΜΟ on a weight of 3482 (×2=6964) grains, and by ΞΔ / ΟΔ⅂Ο on one of 884 (×8=7072): its mina was therefore called *δημοσία*. The identity of these two systems, the Market and the Popular, with the Commercial and Solonian of Athens, is therefore evident, and we thus obtain a higher standard for both Attic talents. From the correct relation of the weights of the two minæ given above, we may compute the drachms of the two talents at about 99·8 and 71·7 grains. The heavier standard of the two Attic systems afforded by these weights reduces the difficulty that is occasioned by the difference of the two Æginetan standards.

"We thus obtain the following principal standards of the Æginetan weight.

a. The Macedonian talent, or Æginetan of the writers, weighing about 660,000 grains, containing 60 minæ and 6000 drachms.

b. The Commercial talent of Athens, used for the coins of Ægina, weighing, as a monetary talent, never more than about 576,000 grains, reduced from a weight-talent of about 598,800, and divided into the same principal parts as the preceding.

"It may be objected to this opinion, that the coins of Ægina should rather give us the true Æginetan standard than those of Macedonia, but it may be replied that we know from literature and monuments of but two Greek systems heavier than the ordinary or later Attic, and that the heavier of these systems is sometimes called Æginetan, the lighter, which bears two other names, never.

The Attic talent.—"2. The Attic talent, when simply thus designated, is the standard-weight introduced by Solon, which stood to the older or Commercial talent in the relation of 100 to $138\frac{8}{9}$. Its average maximum weight, as derived from the coins of Athens and the evidence of ancient writers, gives a drachm of about 67·5 grains; but Mr. Burgon's weights, as already shown, enable us to raise this sum to 71·7. Those weights have also enabled us to make a very curious discovery. We have already seen that two minæ, the Market and the Popular, are recognised in them, one weight, having the inscription MNA ΑΓΟΡ (*μνᾶ ἀγοραῖος*?), weighing 9980 grains, and another, inscribed MNA (*μνᾶ*[*δημοσία*]), weighing 7171 grains, these being in almost exactly the relation of the Commercial and ordinary Attic minæ *δημόσιαι*. There is no indication of any third system, but certain of the marks of value prove that the lower system had two talents, the heavier of which was double the weight of the ordinary talent. No. 9 has the inscrip-

tion TETAPT, "the quarter," and weighs 3218 grains, giving a unit of 12872 grains; No. 14, inscribed $\frac{\text{EMIT}}{\text{ETAP}}$, "the half-quarter," weighs 1770 grains, giving a unit of 14160 grains. We thus obtain a mina twice that of Solon's reduction. The probable reason for the use of this larger Solonian talent will be shown in a later place (§ iv.). These weights are of about the date of the Peloponnesian War."

"TABLE OF MR. BURGON'S WEIGHTS FROM ATHENS.

All these weights are of lead, except Nos. 15 and 38, which are of bronze.

No.	Weight grs. troy.	Inscription.	Type.	Condition.‖	Value Attic Commercial.¶	Excess or deficiency	Value Attic Solonian.**	Excess or deficiency.
1	9980	ΜΝΑ ΑΓΟΡ	Dolphin	A	Mina	. .	. .	. .
2	9790		Id.	D	(Mina)	—190	. .	. .
3	7171	ΜΝΑ	Id.	A	. .	. .	Mina	. .
4	7048		Id.	d	. .	. .	(Mina)	—123
5	4424		Diota	B	. .	. .	¼ MINA?	—356·6
6	3874		Tortoise	B	. .	. .	⅛ MINA?	+288·5
7	3482	ΔΕΜΟ	Id.*	B	. .	. .	½ Mina	—103·5
8	3461		Turtle	B	. .	. .	½ Mina	—124·5
9	3218	ΤΕΤΑΡΤ	Tortoise	A?orD?	. .	. .	¼ MINA	—367·5
10	2959		Half diota	d	. .	. .	⅛ MINA?	+ 90·6
11	2865	ΜΟ	Turtle	B	. .	. .	⅛ MINA?	— 3·4
12	2210	ΔΕΜΟ	Half diota	C	. .	. .	1/16 MINA	—180·3
13	1872		Half turtle	B	. .	. .	⅛ MINA	+ 79·2
14	1770	ΕΜΙΤΕΤΑΡ	Half tortoise	B	. .	. .	⅛ MINA	— 22·7
15	1698		Crescent	B?	⅛ Mina?	—298	. .	. .
16	1648		. .	B	⅛ Mina?	—348	. .	. .
17	1603	Γ M	. .	B?orD?	⅛ Mina?	—393	. .	. .
18	1348	Β	. .	A	. .	. .	2 deca-drachms	— 86·2
19	1231	ΜΟ	Quarter diota†	B	. .	. .	1/16 MINA?	+ 35·8
20	1172	ΔΗ	Crescent	B	. .	. .	1/16 MINA?	— 23·1
21	1171		Crescent	B	. .	. .	1/16 MINA?	— 24·1
22	1082		Half turtle‡	B	1/16 Mina?	+ 84	⅛ Mina?	—113·1
23	1045	ΔΕΜΟ	Crescent	E	. .	. .	⅛ Mina?	—150·1
24	988	ΔΕΜΟ	Diota in wreath.§	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina?	+ 91·6
25	928·5	ΔΕΜΟ	Owl, A. in field§	C	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 32·1
26	924		Half crescent and star	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 27·6
27	915·5		. .	D?	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 19·1
28	910·5		. .	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 14·1
29	901		Quarter diota	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 4·6
30	889	Δ . . Ο	. .	d	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	— 7·3
31	884	ΔΕ ΟΓΔΟ	. .	C?	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	— 12·3
32	869		Rose	C?	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	— 27·3
33	859	ΔΕΜΟ	Uncertain obj. in wreath§	d	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	— 37·3
34	845		Half crescent	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina?	— 51·3
35	756·5	Δ	. .	D?	4 didrachms	— 41·9		
36	541·5		. .	B	. .	. .	8 drachms?	— 32·1
37	527·5	Η	. .	B	⅛ of ¼ mina?	+ 28·5		
38	450		. .	B?	5 drachms?	— 49	6 drachms?	+ 19·7
39	411		. .	B	4 drachms?	+ 11·8	6 drachms?	— 19·2
40	388		. .	B?	4 drachms?	— 11·2	5 drachms?	+ 29·4

* Countermark, tripod. † Countermark, prow. ‡ Turtle, headless? § Countermark.

‖ Explanation of signs: A, Scarcely injured. B, A little weight lost. C, More than a little lost. D, Much weight lost. d, Much corroded. E, Very much weight lost. When two signs are given, the former is the more probable.

¶ The weight of the Commercial Attic mina is here assumed to be about 9980 grains.

** The weight of the Solonian Attic mina is here assumed to be about 7171 grains. The heavier talent is indicated by capital letters.

"From these data it appears that the Attic talent weighed about 430,260 grains by the weights, and that the coins give a talent of about 405,000 grains, the latter being apparently the weight to which the talent was reduced after a time, and the maximum weight at which it is reckoned by ancient writers. It gradually lost weight in the coinage, until the drachm fell to about 57 grains or less, thus coming to be equivalent to, or a little lighter than, the denarius of the early Cæsars. It is important, when examining the statements of ancient writers, to consider whether the full monetary weight of the drachm, mina, or talent, or the weight after this last reduction, is intended. There are cases, as in the comparison of a talent fallen into disuse, where the value in Attic drachms or denarii so described is evidently used with reference to the full Attic monetary weight.

The Euboic talent.—"3. The Euboïc talent, though used in Greece, is also said to have been used in Persia, and there can be no doubt of its Eastern origin. We therefore reserve the discussion of it for the next section (§ ii. 2).

"ii. *Foreign talents of the same period.*—Two foreign systems of the same period, besides the Hebrew, are mentioned by ancient writers, the Babylonian talent and the Euboïc, which Herodotus relates to have been used by the Persians of his time respectively for the weighing of their silver and gold paid in tribute.

The Babylonian talent.—"1. The Babylonian talent may be determined from existing weights found by Mr. Layard at Nineveh. These are in the forms of lions and ducks, and are all upon the same system, although the same denominations sometimes weigh in the proportion of 2 to 1."

These weights were first published by Mr. Norris in the

Asiatic Journal,[3] and as they are of great importance, it may not be uninteresting to give an account of their inscriptions at length. These have been read for me, as above stated, by Mr. Vaux and Mr. Coxe.

No. 1. (with handle):

On side of lion to right, ||||||||||||||| (15).

On side of lion to left,

מנן — ||| || בזי ארקא

i.e. "Fifteen manehs, weight of the country."[4]

On base of lion to right,

חמשא עשר מנא

i.e. "Fifteen manehs."

No. 2. (with handle).

On side of lion to left, ||||| (5).

On side of lion to right,

מנן ||| || בזי

ארקא

i.e. "Five manehs, weight of the country."

On base of lion to left,

חמשא מ[נ]א מלק

i.e. "Five manehs of the King" (King's weight).[5]

The cuneiform inscription upon this lion is "The palace .... five manehs of." Norris only reads "five manehs."

No. 3. (handle lost).

On side of lion to left, ||| (3).

[3] Vol. xvi. p. 215 *seq.* There is also a plate of the inscriptions, with the weights in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 601. Bonomi supposes that the larger ones were used to secure the awnings in the courts, such as are described in Esther (i. 6) to have been in the court of the palace. (*Nineveh and its Palaces*, pp. 337, 441.) This is not likely.

[4] The word ארקא only occurs in Jeremiah x. 11., (ארעא *Earth*; the letter ע being changed into the harder ק, Gesen. *Lex.* s. v. ארק).

[5] *Cf.* אבן המלך, 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

On side of lion to right,

מנן ||| בזי
ארקא

i.e. "Three manehs, weight of the country."

On base of lion to left,

ש[ל] שא מנא [מ]לך

i.e. "Three manehs of the King."

The cuneiform inscription upon this lion is "Great .... three manehs of the King." Norris reads "three manehs."

No. 4. (with handle).

On side of lion to left, || (2).

On side of lion to right,

מנן || ב
זי ארקא

i.e. "Two manehs, weight of the country."

On base of lion to left,

מנא . . מלך

i.e. "Maneh of the King."

Norris had read שנ, "two," making the whole line "two manehs of the King."

The cuneiform inscription may be read, "The palace of Shal(maneser) [circ. B.C. 850] King of the country, two manehs of the King." Norris has read, "The great Sennacherib . . . two manehs of the King," and Brandis, "Palace of Sennacherib, two manehs of the King."

No. 5 is a lioness.—(No ring; lead in the bottom.)

On side of lioness to left || (2).

On side of lioness to right,

מנן ||
זי מלך

i. e. "Two manehs of the King."

No inscription on the base.

The cuneiform inscription may be read, "The palace of Shalmaneser, King of the country of Assyria, two manehs

of the King." Norris has read, "The great Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, two manehs of the King."

No. 6. (No ring.)

On side of lion to left | | (2).

On side of lion to right, no inscription.

On base of lion, no inscription.

The cuneiform inscription on this lion may be read, "The palace of Tiglath-Pileser [circ. B.C. 747], the King of the country, two manehs." Norris only reads the name, 'Tiglath-pileser,' and suggests that the character following the word maneh is perhaps the monogram of 'Babylon.'

No 7. (no handle.)

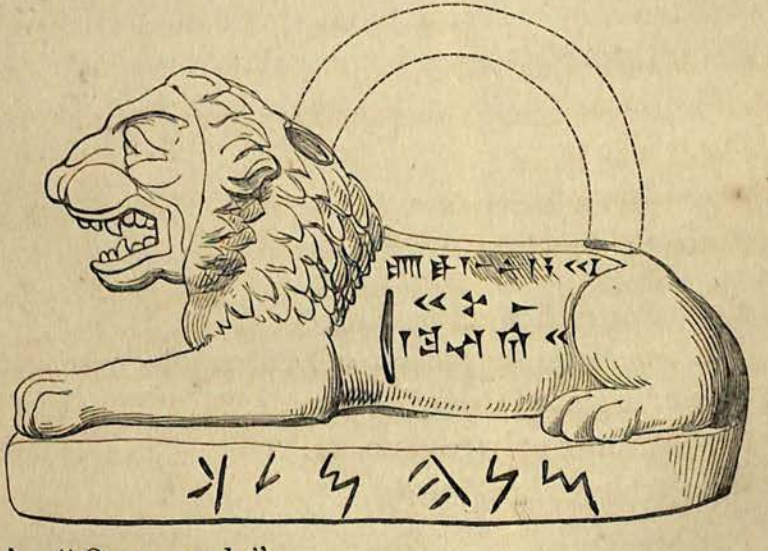
No inscription.

No. 8. (Handle lost.)

On side of lion to left |

On side of lion to right,

מנה



i.e. "One maneh."

On base of lion to left,

מנה מלך

i.e. "One maneh of the King."

On base of lion to right, X.

The cuneiform inscription on no. 8 may be read, "The palace of Asshur-izir-pal [circ. B.C. 880], the supreme King, the King of the country of Assyria, one maneh of the King." Norris had read, "King of Assyria" and "one maneh of the King."

No. 9. (with ring.)

On side of lion to left **X**.

On side of lion to right, no inscription.

On base of lion to right,

סנכ ארקא

i. e. " . .? of the country."

The word סנכ cannot be explained. Norris has read, מנה ארקא, but says that the מנה is unlike that of any other examples. In all probability, the copier of the inscription has made a blunder.

The cuneiform legend on this lion, which Norris has not attempted to decipher, may be read, "The palace of Shal(maneser)—maneh of the King."

Nos. 10 and 11 (never had handles).

On back of lion (no. 10), above haunch, | (1).

On side of lion (no. 11) to left, | (1).

No base on either.

On bottom of each lion,

מנה מלך

i.e. "One maneh of the King."

The cuneiform legend on no. 10 may be read, "The palace of Tiglath-Pileser," and on no. 11, "Maneh of the King." Norris only read no. 11.

No. 12 (never had handle).

On side of lion, no inscription.

No base.

On bottom of lion,

קדש

i.e. "Holy."

This word is frequently attached to weights in the Bible, which the translators have rendered, "weight

of the sanctuary,"[6] perhaps in distinction to the "King's weight."[7]

The cuneiform legend may be read, "The country of Sennacherib, King of the country of Assyria, one maneh." Norris has read, 'The great Sennacherib, King of Assyria,' followed by the word 'maneh' only, while Brandis reads, "The kingdom of Sennacherib, King of Assyria."

No. 13. (with handle.)

On side of lion to left |||| (4).

No base.

On bottom of lion,

רבע ארק[א]

i.e. "One quarter (maneh) weight of the country."

The cuneiform legend may be read, "The palace of Asshur-izir-pal 4." Norris says, 'that the traces of cuneiform letters look like Sennacherib.'

No. 14. (with handle and ring.)

On side of lion to left, ||||| (5).

On side of lion to right,

חמש

i.e. "One-fifth."

On bottom of lion,

חמש

i.e. "One-fifth."

No. 15. (With two rings,[8] which can be removed.)

On side of lion to left, ||| (3).

No base.

On bottom of lion,

שקלן |||

i.e. "Three shekels."

[6] Exod. xxx. 13, &c. [7] אבן המלך, 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

[8] According to the record of these lions, which were weighed at the Bank, it appears that this one at that time had two rings. There is, however, at present only one, and the weight of the lion by itself is 752 grs. and that of the ring by itself 56·3 grs.

The cuneiform inscription may be read, 'The palace of Sargon (circ. B.C. 721), the King of the country of Assyria.' Norris had not noticed any inscription.

No. 16. (with one ring and fragment of ring.)

No base.

On bottom of lion,

|| שקלן

i.e. "Two shekels."

The Phœnician inscription on no. 15 was at first thought to be מלך both by Norris and Vaux; at the same time Norris suggested that the reading should be שלש שקלן, but admitted that it was nothing more than a suggestion. No. 16 had not been examined by Norris, for what reason does not seem known, excepting that it might have been thought to be in too bad a state to clean. The result, however, of the cleaning, shows, in letters that no one can doubt, the inscription || שקלן, and on comparing these letters with those on no. 15, there is no doubt that the correct inscription on it is also שקלן, with the numeral ||| instead of ||.[9]

9 By Mr. Madden's kind permission I add a note on the lions marked 2 and 3 shekels. Their weights are as follows—(1) 3 shekels with 2 rings, 840 grains, should be 836, as I judge from comparing the exact weight with one ring with the Bank weight which was not so minute a scale as that of the Medal Room. With 1 ring, 808·3; without rings, 752; therefore shekel 278·6 or 250·6. (2) 2 shekels. With ring, 557·9; without ring, 484·9; therefore shekel 278·9 or 242·4. The weight of the shekel, obtained by including the rings is excessive. Observe that the rings weigh respectively 27·7,56·3, and 72·8. A siglos weighs about 88·8, as deduced from the Babylonian system: 84·5 in the coins: then

88·8	ring	72·8	— 16
⅔ 59·2	„	56·3	— 2·9
⅓ 29·6	„	27·7	— 1·9

I am therefore of opinion that these rings are smaller weights, originally of flexible metal. I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging Mr. Norris's valuable services in having first read the inscriptions on the weights from Nineveh.—*Reyd. Stuart Poole.*

The cuneiform inscription on the first duck, which is of black marble, may be read, "Thirty maneh—gina (?). The palace of Irba-Merodach, King of the country of Babylon."

Sir Henry Rawlinson has suggested the possibility of Irba-Merodach being the Evil-Merodach mentioned in the Bible.[10]

The cuneiform inscription on the duck of white marble, which, on account of its bad preservation, is omitted in the table of weights, may be read, "Thirty ma(neh)—gina ? of Nebo-vulibar, King of Assyria."

Mr. Norris has already read the name of this King 'Nabo-vulibar,' but suggests that of Napolassar ? as more correct. Mr. Coxe, in his notes, kindly communicated to me, says, "I have no means of determining the age of this duck, excepting by the peculiar form of the character 'King.' I have only seen it thus written in two inscriptions besides this one, both of which are of the time of Merodach-adan-akhi, a king who reigned at Babylon when Tiglath Pileser I. was King of Assyria (circ. B.C. 1150-1120). As the kingdoms of Babylon and Assyria were perpetually at war with each other about this time, it is not impossible that Nebo-vulibar may have been one of the immediate successors or predecessors of Merodach-adan-akhi, who succeeded in temporarily reducing Assyria to a Babylonian province."

The cuneiform inscription on duck no. 2 of our Table, which is of grey marble, only reads "10 manehs."

On duck no. 4 there is the mark of value, 'six,' followed by a character of uncertain value, and on duck no. 6 there is the mark of value 'eight,' followed also by another uncertain character. These two characters have been

[10] Journal of Roy. Asiatic Society, vol. xvi. p. 217, *note*.

suggested by Dr. Hincks to represent nearly the one fifteenth and the one-thirtieth of the maneh.[1]

On duck no. 5 there is also the mark of value 'six,' followed by the same character as on no. 4. Norris has given a representation of four lines of cuneiform, but has attempted no explanation. According to Mr. Coxe the first line is the only one, which can be read with any certainty, and the inscription is, 'Shalmaneser, King supreme, king of the country of Assyria.' Shalmaneser was the son of Asshur-izir-pal, circ. B.C. 850.

We here insert a table specifying the weights, inscriptions, and degree of preservation.

TABLE OF WEIGHTS FROM NINEVEH.[2]

No.	Form and Material	Phœnician Inscription.	Cuneiform Inscription.	Marks of Value.	Condition.*	Weight. Grs. Troy.	Computed Weight.	Divisions of Gt. T.	Divisions of LesserT.
1	Lion bronze	XV Manehs		𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕	B	230,460	239,760	¼	
2	" "	V Manehs	V Manehs	𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕	B	77,820	79,920	1/15	
3	" "	III Manehs	III Manehs	𒐕𒐕𒐕	C	44,196	47,952	1/20	
4	" "	II Manehs	II Manehs	𒐕𒐕	A	30,744	31,968	1/30	
5	" "	II Manehs	II Manehs	𒐕𒐕	B	29,796	Id.	1/30	
6	" "		II Manehs	𒐕𒐕	B	14,604	15,984		1/30
7	" "				A	15,984	Id.		
8	" "	Manch	Manch	𒐕	B	14,724	Id.	1/60	
9	" "				B	10,272	?		
10	" "	Maneh		𒐕	B	7,404	7,992		1/60
11	" "	Manch	Maneh	𒐕	B	7,224	Id.		1/60
12	" "		Manch		B	3,708	3,996		
13	" "	Quarter	Four	𒐖	B	3,648	3,996	¼ M	
14	" "	Fifth		𒐖𒐕	B	3,060	3,196	⅕ M	
15	" " (with 2 rings)	III Shekels		𒐕𒐕𒐕		840			
15A	" " (without rings)	Id.		𒐕𒐕𒐕		752			
16	" " (with ring)	II Shekels		𒐕𒐕		557·9			
1†	Duck stone		XXX Manehs		A	233,300	239,760		½
2	" "		X Manehs		B	77,500	79,920		⅓
3	" "				B	15,000	15,984		
4	" "			𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕	C	2,904	3,196		
5	" "			𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕	B	2,748	Id.		
6	" "			𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕𒐕	B	1,968	2,131		

* A, Well preserved. B, Somewhat injured. C, Much injured.

† A large duck of white marble, representing the same weight as No. 1, is omitted in this table, on account of being much injured.

[1] Journal of Roy. Asiatic Society, vol. xvi. p. 218, *note* 3.

[2] This table is different from that of Mr. Poole's in its arrangement and in some minor details.—F. W. M.

"From these data we may safely draw the following inferences.

"The weights represent a double system, of which the heavier talent contained two of the lighter talents.

"The heavier talent contained 60 manehs. The maneh was divided into thirtieths and sixtieths. We conclude the units having these respective relations to the maneh of the heavy talent to be divisions of it, because in the case of the first a thirtieth is a more likely division than a fifteenth, which it would be if assigned to the lighter talent, and because, in the case of the second, eight sixtieths is a more likely division than eight thirtieths.

"The lighter talent contained 60 manehs. According to Dr. Hincks, the maneh of the lighter talent was divided into sixtieths, and these again into thirtieths. The sixtieth is so important a division in any Babylonian system, that there can be no doubt that Dr. Hincks is right in assigning it to this talent, and moreover its weight is a value of great consequence in the Babylonian system as well as in one derived from it. Besides, the sixtieth bears a different name from the sixtieth of the heavier talent, so that there must have been a sixtieth in each, unless, but this we have shown to be unlikely, the latter belongs to the lighter talent, which would then have had a sixtieth and thirtieth. The following table exhibits our results:—

Heavier Talent.

			Grs. troy.
$\frac{1}{60}$ Maneh			266·4
2	$\frac{1}{30}$ Maneh		532·8
60	30	Maneh	15,984
3600	1800	60	Talent 959,040

Lighter Talent.

$\frac{1}{30}$ of $\frac{1}{60}$ Maneh			4·44
30	$\frac{1}{60}$ Maneh		133·2
1800	60	Maneh	7,992
108000	3600	60	Talent 479,520

"Certain lower subdivisions of the lighter talent may be determined from smaller weights, in the British Museum, from Babylonia or Assyria, not found with those last described. These are, with one exception, ducks, and have the following weights, which we compare with the multiples of the smallest subdivision of the lighter talent.

Smaller Babylonian or Assyrian Weights.	Grs. troy.	Thirtieths of Unit, 4·44.	Sixtieth of Maneh. Supposed unit, 4′.
1. Duck, marked II, weight	329	80. 355·2	320
2. „	120	30. 133·2	120
3. „	119		
4. „	100	25. 111	100
5. „	87 +	22. 97·6	88
6. Weight like short stopper	83	21. 93·2	84
7. Duck	80 +	20. 88·8	80
8. „	40 −	10. 44·4	40
9. „	34 −	8. 35·5	32
10. „	19	5. 22·2	20

"Before comparing the evidence of the coins, which we may suppose to have been struck according to the Babylonian talent, it will be well to ascertain whether the higher or lower talent was in use, or whether both were, in the period of the Persian coins.

"Herodotus speaks of the Babylonian talent as not greatly exceeding the Euboïc, which has been computed to be equivalent to the Commercial Attic, but more reasonably as nearly the same as the ordinary Attic. Pollux makes the Babylonian talent equal to 7000 Attic drachms. Taking the Attic drachm at 67·5 grs., the standard probably used by Pollux, the Babylonian talent would weigh 472,500, which is very near the weight of the lighter talent. Ælian says that the Babylonian talent was equal to 72 Attic minæ, which, on the standard of 67·5 to the drachm, gives a sum of 486,000. We may therefore

suppose that the lighter talent was generally, if not universally, in use in the time of the Persian coins.

" Herodotus relates that the King of Persia received the silver tribute of the satrapies according to the Babylonian talent, but the gold, according to the Euboïc. We may therefore infer that the silver coinage of the Persian monarchy was then adjusted to the former, the gold coinage to the latter, if there was a coinage in both metals so early. The oldest coins, both gold and silver, of the Persian monarchy, are of the time of Herodotus, if not a little earlier; and there are still more ancient pieces, in both metals, of the same weights as Persian gold and silver coins, which are found at or near Sardes, and can scarcely be doubted to be the coinage of Crœsus, or of another Lydian king of the 6th century. The larger silver coins of the Persian monarchy, and those of the satraps, are of the following denominations and weights:—

	Grs. troy.
Piece of three sigli . . .	253·5
Piece of two sigli . . .	169
Siglos	84·5

" The only denomination of which we know the name is the siglos, which, as having the same type as the Daric, appears to be the oldest Persian silver coin. It is the ninetieth part of the maneh of the lighter talent, and the 5400th of that talent. The piece of three sigli is the thirtieth part of that maneh, and the 1800th of the talent. If there were any doubt as to these coins being struck upon the Babylonian standard, it would be removed in the next part of our inquiry, in which we shall show that the relation of gold and silver occasioned these divisions.

The Euboïc talent.—" 2. The Euboic talent, though bearing a Greek name, is rightly held to have been originally an Eastern system. As it was used to weigh the

gold sent as tribute to the King of Persia, we may infer that it was the standard of the Persian gold money; and it is reasonable to suppose that the coinage of Eubœa was upon its standard. If our result as to the talent, when tested by the coins of Persia and Eubœa, confirms this inference and supposition, it may be considered sound.

"We must now discuss the celebrated passage of Herodotus on the tribute of the Persian satrapies. He there states that the Babylonian talent contained 70 Euboïc minæ (iii. 89). He specifies the amount of silver paid in Babylonian talents by each province, and then gives the sum of the silver according to the Euboïc standard, reduces the gold paid to its equivalent in silver, reckoning the former at thirteen times the value of the latter, and lastly gives the sum total. His statements may be thus tabulated:—

Sum of items, silver.		Equivalent in E. T. at 70 minæ=B. T.	Equivalent stated.	Difference.
7740 B. T.	=	9030 E. T.	9540 E. T.	+ 510
Gold tribute.		**Equivalent at 13 to 1.**		
360 E. T.		4680 E. T.	Id.	
Total . .		13,710 E. T.	14,220	
Total stated		14,560	14,560	
Difference .		+850	+340	

"It is impossible to explain this double error in any satisfactory manner. It is, however, evident that in the time of Herodotus there was some such relation between the Babylonian and Euboïc talents as that of 11·66 to 10. This is so near 12 to 10 that it may be inquired whether ancient writers speak of any relative value of gold to silver about this time that would make talents in this proportion easy for exchange, and whether, if such a proportion is stated, it is confirmed by the Persian coins. The relative value of 13 to 1, stated by Herodotus, is very

nearly 12 to 1, and seems as though it had been the result of some change, such as might have been occasioned by the exhaustion of the surface-gold in Asia Minor, or a more careful working of the Greek silver-mines. The relative value 12 to 1 is mentioned by Plato (*Hipparch.*). About Plato's time the relation was however 10 to 1. He is therefore speaking of an earlier period. Supposing that the proportion of the Babylonian and Euboïc talents was 12 to 10, and that it was based upon a relative value of 12 to 1, what light do the Persian coins throw upon the theory? If we take the chief or only Persian gold coin, the Daric, assuming its weight to be 129 grs., and multiply it by 12, we obtain the product 1548. If we divide this product as follows, we obtain as aliquot parts the weights of all the principal and heavier Persian silver coins:—

1548 ÷ 6 = 258 three sigli.
÷ 9 = 172 two sigli.
÷ 18 = 86 siglos.

"On these grounds we may suppose that the Euboïc talent was to the Babylonian as 60 to 72, or 5 to 6. Taking the Babylonian maneh at 7992 grs., we obtain 399,600 for the Euboïc talent.

"This result is most remarkably confirmed by an ancient bronze weight in the form of a lion discovered at Abydos in the Troad, and bearing in Phœnician characters the following inscription: אספרן לקבל סתריא זי כספא "Approved," or "found correct, on the part of the satrap who is appointed over the silver" or "money." It weighs 396,000 grs., and is supposed to have lost one or two pounds weight. It has been thought to be a weight of 50 Babylonian minæ, but it is most unlikely that there should have been such a division of the talent, and still more that a weight should have been made of that division without any distinctive inscription. If, however, the Euboïc talent was to the Babylonian in the proportion of

5 to 6, 50 Babylonian minæ would correspond to a Euboïc talent, and this weight would be a talent of that standard. We have calculated the Euboïc talent at 399,600 grs., this weight is 396,000, or 3600 deficient, but this is explained by the supposed loss of one (5760) or two (11,520) pounds weight.[3]

"We have now to test our result by the Persian gold money, and the coins of Eubœa.

"The principal, if not the only, Persian gold coin is the Daric, weighing about 129 grs.[4] This, we have seen,

[3] This lion is published and engraved in the *Archæological Journal* by Mr. Frank Calvert (1860, Sept. pp. 199, 200). It is curious that M. de Vogüé, who also published it, should have supposed it to be a Euboïc talent (*Rev. Arch.* Jan. 1862, N. S. vol. v. pp. 30—39), and that Mr. Poole did not know of his paper till after he (Mr. Poole) had made his calculations. Mr. Poole omits to notice that there is on the back of this lion a ♀, which may be a Phœnician *Resch* or a Greek *Rho*, and equal to a 100. But a hundred what? Certainly not *minæ*. Does it indicate a hundred *half-minæ?* The silver mentioned on this weight is, according to M. Vogüé, either 'La denrée commerciale transportée par les vaisseaux phéniciens;' or, 'cette matière spécifique divisée en quantités déterminées pour les usages du commerce et les besoins du trésor public' (*Rev. Arch. l. c.*). Levy (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 153, *note* 1) considers the language to be Chaldæan. He also says, "The אספרן reminds us of the biblical אֲסַפַּרְנָא of the Book of Ezra (v. 8; vi. 8; xii. 13; vii. 7, 17, 21, 26), which is not easy to be explained, and which, as well as אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים (Esther iii. 12; viii. 9; ix. 3; Ezra viii. 36) receives new light through סתריא."—F. W. M.

[4] This is the second time that Mr. Poole uses these words. His argument, that only the Daric of 129 grs. was struck in *gold*, whilst a double was struck in *silver* for the sake of distinction, seems to be a very good one. Moreover, there is no coin so easy to be forged as the Double Gold Daric. Levy, however, has unhesitatingly engraved one in his work from the Paris Collection, and speaks of there being only *three* in existence (*Jüd. Münzen*, p. 21). This is not quite correct, as Mr. M. J. Borrell has kindly informed me that his experience extends to the following varieties, all of which he believes to be authentic, and chiefly, if not all, from different dies.

was the standard coin, according to which the silver money was adjusted. Its double in actual weight is found in the silver coinage, but its equivalent is wanting, as though for the sake of distinction. The double is the thirtieth of the maneh of the lighter or monetary Babylonian talent, of which the Daric is the sixtieth, the latter

	Weights.
I. M. Garreri's specimen (see below)	254·8
II. That in the Bank of England	257·5
III. Another, formerly in the Cabinet of Mr. Vivian Arundel, British Chaplain at Smyrna,—found at Philadelphia	
IV. M. de Cadalvene's specimen	254·4
V. The specimen in the Cabinet of the late Mr. H. P. Borrell	256
VI. Another, brought to England by James Whittall, of Smyrna, in 1852	
VII. Another, formerly in the possession of Major Garden, which Mr. Borrell believes to be now in the Collection of General Moore	255·4
VIII. M. Ivanoff's specimen (now in the collection of Mr. Wigan?)	256

Mr. Borrell has also given me a note relative to the first-named gold Daric in the above list, which note was found among the papers of his late brother, Mr. H. P. Borrell, of Smyrna. "In May, 1826, one of these pieces, with the types precisely as the Daric, but weighing 254·8 grs., was found by a Turk engaged in excavating the foundation of a house at a place called Caraguchbazar, near Allahsher (the ancient Philadelphia in Lydia). It was sold by him to a Greek tailor for its intrinsic worth, and by the tailor sent to his draper at Smyrna, from whom it was purchased by M. Stefano Garreri, for 600 piastres (= £10 sterling). He again sold it to M. Cousinery, a brother of the zealous antiquary of that name, who sent it to Paris. Cousinery paid Garreri 800 francs (£32), but the dealer to whom Cousinery sent it, probably thinking he had given more than its value, returned it as a false coin, and it is again, though no less authentic, in the hands of M. Garreri." It seems clear, from this note, that the late Mr. Borrell was of opinion that authentic specimens of this denomination of Persian money did exist. Mr. M. J. Borrell has further placed at my disposal the following note by himself, "That a false die, as asserted by Mionnet, may be

being, in our opinion, a known division. The weight of the sixtieth is, it should be observed, about 133·2 grs., somewhat in excess of the weight of the Daric, but ancient coins are always struck below their nominal weight. The Daric was thus the 3600th part of the Babylonian talent. It is nowhere stated how the Euboïc talent was divided, but if we suppose it to have contained 50 minæ, then the Daric would have been the sixtieth of the mina, but if 100 minae, the thirtieth. In any case it would have been the 3000th part of the talent. As the 6000th was the chief division of the Æginetan and Attic monetary talents, and the 3000th of the Hebrew talent according to which the sacred tribute was paid, and as an Egyptian talent contained 6000 such units, no other principal division of the chief talents, save that of the Babylonian, into 3600 being known, this is exactly what we should expect.

"The coinage of Eubœa has hitherto been the great obstacle to the discovery of the Euboïc talent. For the present we speak only of the silver coins, for the only

in existence, is very possible; but, as he says in his note, (*Suppl.* viii. p. 422, *note*, a), "On connaît un double statère en or, mais il existe un coin moderne auquel il faut prendre garde," it is equally clear that he was cognisant of a genuine specimen also, and this cautionary note was penned eleven years after the discovery of M. Garreri's coin. The fact that money of this denomination is not mentioned by any ancient writer, is not surprising. The Daric in ancient times was the unit of the then gold currency of the Persians, and its multiple was no more likely to be especially named than the double sovereign of our own times. It is, however, worth the passing remark that although the double Daric is not named in the text of any extant classical authority, yet Xenophon (*Exped. Cyri*, lib. i. 3, 21) does expressly name the *half daric*—ἡμιδαρεικον none of which have yet come to light." I may observe, in concluding this lengthy note, that Dr. Brandis, who is at present occupied in writing a work on Greek weights, told me this summer (1863), that he does not doubt the existence of a double Daric, and has himself seen several authentic specimens. Numismatists will be anxious to see the results of his labours.—F. W. M.

gold coin we know is later than the earliest notices of the talent, and it must therefore have been in Greece originally, as far as money was concerned, a silver talent. The coins give the following denominations, of which we state the average highest weights and the assumed true weights, compared with the assumed true weights of the coins of Athens:—

COINS OF EUBOEA.		COINS OF ATHENS.	
Highest weight.	Assumed true weight	Assumed true weight.	
	258	Tetradrachm	270
121	129	Didrachm	135
85	86		
63	64·5	Drachm	67·5
43	43	Tetrobolon	45

"It must be remarked that the first Euboïc denomination is known to us only from two very early coins of Eretria, in the British Museum; which may possibly be Attic, struck during a time of Athenian supremacy, for they are of about the weight of very heavy Attic tetradrachms.

"It will be perceived that though the weights of all denominations, except the third in the Euboïc list, are very near the Attic, the system of division is evidently different. The third Euboïc denomination is identical with the Persian siglos, and indicates the Persian origin of the system. The second piece is, however, identical with the Daric. It would seem that the Persian gold and silver systems of division were here combined; and this might perfectly have been done, as the Daric, though a division of the gold talent, is also a division of the silver talent. As we have noticed, the Daric is omitted in the Persian silver coinage for some special reason. The relation of the Persian and Greek systems may be thus stated:

Persian silver, Babylonian.	Persian gold, Euboïc.	Greek Euboïc. Actual weight.	Assumed.
253·5			258
169·			
	129	121	129
84·5		85	86
		63	64·5
		43	43

" The standard weights of Persian silver coins are here assumed from the highest average weight of the siglos. We hold that the coins of Corinth probably follow the Euboïc system.

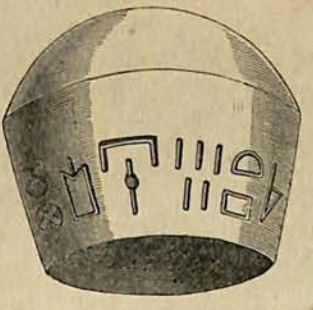
" The only gold coin of Eubœa known to us has the extraordinary weight of 49·4 grs. It is of Carystus, and probably in date a little before Alexander's time. It may be upon a system for gold money derived from the Euboïc, exactly as the Euboïc was derived from the Babylonian, but it is not safe to reason upon a single coin.

The Egyptian talent.—" 3. The talents of Egypt have hitherto formed a most unsatisfactory subject. We commence our inquiry by stating all certain data.

" The gold and silver coins of the Ptolemies follow the same standard as the silver coins of the kings of Macedon to Philip II. inclusive, which are on the full Æginetan weight. The copper coins have been thought to follow the same standard, but this is an error.

" The ancient Egyptians are known to have had two weights, the MeN or UTeN, containing ten smaller weights bearing the name KeT, as M. Chabas has proved. The former name, if rightly read MeN, is a maneh or mina, the latter, according to the Copts, was a drachm or didrachm (ⲕⲓϯ: ⲕⲓⲧⲉ, ⲥⲕⲓⲧⲉ S. drachma, didrachma, the last form not being known to have the second signification). A weight inscribed " Five KeT," and weighing 698 grs.,

has been discovered. It probably originally weighed about 700 (*Revue Archéologique*).[5] We can thus deter-



mine the KeT to have weighed about 140 grs., and the MeN or UTeN about 1400. An examination of the copper coins of the Ptolemies has led us to the interesting discovery that they follow this standard and system. The following are all the heavier denominations of the copper coins of the earlier Ptolemies, and the corresponding weights; the coins vary much in weight, but they clearly indicate their standard and their denominations:—

[5] This Egyptian weight is in the possession of Mr. Harris of Alexandria, and was bought at Thebes. It is made of a blackish grey stone, which Mr. Harris has called *serpentine du desert*. Upon the top of it is engraved a vertical band of hieroglyphs, which Mr. Edwin Smith has read 'belonging to the sun.' (*Proceedings Soc. Ant. 2nd series*, vol. i. p. 242.) Upon the side of it is engraved the following legend;

Ket v. of the treasure of On.

The employment of weights of stone was common to many nations of antiquity, and especially the Hebrews. (Prov. xvi. 11; Micah vi. 11, etc.) The Romans also made use of a kind of black stone called *Lydius lapis*. (Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 8; cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1861, N. S. vol. iii. p. 12.)—F. W. M.

EGYPTIAN COPPER COINS AND WEIGHTS.

Coins.		*Weights.*
	Grs.	
A cir.	1400.	MeN, or UTeN (Maneh ?)
B cir.	700.	5 KeT.
C cir.	280.	(2 KeT).
D cir.	140.	KeT.
E cir.	70.	(½ KeT).

" We must therefore conclude that the gold and silver standard of the Ptolemies was different from the copper standard, the latter being that of the ancient Egyptians. The two talents, if calculated from the coins, which in the gold and silver are below the full weight, are in the proportion of about 10 (gold and silver) to 13 (copper); or, if calculated from the higher correct standard of the gold and silver system, in the proportion of about 10 to 12·7: we shall speak as to the exchange in a later place (§ iii).

" It may be observed that the difficulty of explaining the statements of ancient writers as to the Egyptian, Alexandrian, or Ptolemaic talent or talents, probably arises from the use of two systems which could be easily confounded, at least in their lower divisions.

4. *The Carthaginian talent.* " The Carthaginian talent may not be as old as the period before Alexander, to which we limit our inquiry, yet it reaches so nearly to that period that it cannot be here omitted. Those silver coins of the Carthaginians which do not follow the Attic standard seem to be struck upon the standard of the Persian coins, the Babylonian talent. The only clue we have, however, to the system is afforded by a bronze weight, inscribed משקל מנה, and weighing 321 grammes = 4956·5

grs. (Dr. Levy in *Zeitschrift Deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.* xiv. p. 710.[6]) This sum is divisible by the weights of

all the chief Carthaginian silver coins, except the decadrachm, but only as sevenths—a system of division we do not know to have obtained in any ancient talent. The Carthaginian gold coins seem also to be divisions of this mina on a different principle.

"iii. *The Hebrew talent or talents and divisions.*—The data we have obtained enable us to examine the statements respecting the Hebrew weights with some expectation of determining this difficult question. The evidence may be thus stated.

"1. A talent of silver is mentioned in Exodus, which contained 3000 shekels, distinguished as "the holy shekel," or "shekel of the sanctuary." The number of

[6] The entire inscription upon this weight is as follows; בן אשמניתן בן בדמלקרת משקל מנה *i.e.* 'Ben-esmouniton son of Bodmelkart—weight of a mina.' It was first published by M. Judas in the *Revue Archéologique*, but he read erroneously משקלם ק 'weight 100.' (Vol. xvi. 1859, p. 167.) Dr. Levy corrected this error when he published it in the *Zeitschrift Deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.* vol. xiv. 1860, p. 710. It is also noticed by Levy in his *Jüdische Münzen* (p. 153). This weight is of resonant brass and has the form of a thick cymbal with a hole in the middle. The above drawing is half the size of the original.—F. W. M.

Israelite men who paid the ransom of half a shekel a-piece was 603,550, and the sum paid was 100 talents and 1775 shekels of silver (Ex. xxx. 13, 15, xxxviii. 25-28), whence we easily discover that the talent of silver contained 3000 shekels (603,550 ÷ 2 = 301,775 shekels — 1775 = 300,000 ÷ 100 talents = 3000 shekels to the talent.)

" 2. A gold maneh is spoken of, and, in a parallel passage, shekels are mentioned, three manehs being represented by 300 shekels, a maneh therefore containing 100 shekels of gold.

" 3. Josephus states that the Hebrew talent of gold contained 100 minae (*λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ . . . σταθμὸν ἔχουσα μνᾶς ἑκατὸν, ἃς Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγχαρες, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον γλῶσσαν σημαίνει τάλαντον.* *Ant.* iii. 6, § 7.)

" 4. Josephus states that the Hebrew maneh of gold was equal to two librae and a half (*δοκὸν ὁλοσφυρήλατον χρυσῆν, ἐκ μνῶν τριακοσίων πεποιημένην. ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο καὶ ἥμισυ.* *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 1). Taking the Roman pound at 5050 grs., the maneh of gold would weigh about 12,625 grs.

" 5. Epiphanius estimates the Hebrew talent at 125 Roman pounds, which, at the value given above, are equal to about 631,250 grs.

" 6. A difficult passage in Ezekiel seems to speak of a maneh of 50 or 60 shekels: " And the shekel [shall be] twenty gerahs: twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels, shall be your maneh" (xlv. 12). The ordinary text of the LXX. gives a series of small sums as the Hebrew, though differing in the numbers, but the Alex. and Vat. MSS. have 50 for 15 (*εἴκοσι ὀβολοὶ, πέντε σίκλοι, πέντε καὶ σίκλοι δέκα, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλοι ἡ μνᾶ ἔσται ὑμῖν*). The meaning would be either that there were to be three manehs, respectively containing 20, 25,

and 15 shekels, or the like, or else that a sum is intended by these numbers (20 + 25 + 15 = 60), or possibly 50. But it must be remembered that this is a prophetical passage.

" 7. Josephus makes the gold shekel a Daric (*Ant.* iii. 8, § 10).

" From these data it may be reasonably inferred (1) that the Hebrew gold talent contained 100 manehs, each of which again contained 100 shekels of gold, and, basing the calculation on the stated value of the maneh, weighed about 1,262,500 grs., or, basing the calculation on the correspondence of the gold shekel to the Daric, weighed about 1,290,000 grs. (129 × 100 × 100), the latter being probably nearer the true value, as the $2\frac{1}{2}$ librae may be supposed to be a round sum, and (2) that the silver talent contained 3000 shekels, and is probably the talent spoken of by Epiphanius as equal to 125 Roman pounds, or 631,250 grs., which would give a shekel of 210·4 grs. It is to be observed that, taking the estimate of Josephus as the basis for calculating the maneh of the former talent, and that of Epiphanius for calculating the latter, their relation is exactly 2 to 1, 50 manehs at $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, making 125 pounds. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that two talents of the same system are referred to, and that the gold talent was exactly double the silver talent.

" Let us now examine the Jewish coins.

" 1. The shekels and half-shekels of silver, if we take an average of the heavier specimens of the Maccabæan issue, give the weight of the former as about 220 grs. A talent of 3000 such shekels would weigh about 660,000 grs. This result agrees very nearly with the weight of the talent given by Epiphanius.

" 2. The copper coins are generally without any indications of value. The two heaviest denominations of the Maccabæan issue, however, bear the names 'half' (חצי), and 'quarter' (רביע). M. De Saulcy gives the weights of

three 'halves' as, respectively, 251·6 grs. (16·3 grammes), 236·2 (15·3), and 219·2 (14·2). In Mr. Wigan's collection are two 'quarters,' weighing, respectively, 145·2 grs. and 118·9 grs.; the former being, apparently, the one 'quarter' of which M. De Saulcy gives the weight as 142·. (9·2 grammes). We are unable to add the weights of any more specimens. There is a smaller coin of the same period, which has an average weight, according to M. De Saulcy, of 81·8 grs. (5·3 grammes). If this be the third of the 'half,' it would give the weight of the latter at 245·4 grs. As this may be thought to rest upon slender evidence, especially so far as the larger coins are concerned, it is important to observe that it is confirmed by the later coins. From the copper coins mentioned above, we can draw up the following scheme, comparing them with the silver coins.

COPPER COINS.			SILVER COINS.		
	Average weight.	Supposed weight.		Average weight.	Supposed weight.
Half .	235·4	250	Shekel . .	220	Id.
Quarter	132·0	125	Half shekel	110	Id.
(Sixth).	81·8	83·3	[Third] .	73·3.	

"It is evident from this list that the copper 'half' and 'quarter' are half and quarter shekels, and are nearly in the relation to the silver like denominations of 2 to 1. But this relation is not exact, and it is therefore necessary to ascertain further whether the standard of the silver talent can be raised, if not, whether the gold talent can be more than twice the weight of the silver, and, should this explanation be impossible, whether there is any ground for supposing a third talent with a shekel heavier than two shekels of the silver.

"The silver shekel of 220 grs. gives a talent of 660,000 grs.: this is the same as the Æginetan, which appears to be of Phœnician origin. There is no evidence of its ever having had a higher shekel or didrachm.

"The double talent of 1,320,000 grs. gives a Daric of 132 grs., which is only 1 gr. and a small fraction below the standard obtained from the Babylonian talent.

"The possibility of a separate talent for copper depends upon the relations of the three metals.

"The relation of gold to silver in the time of Herodotus was 1 : 13. The early relation upon which the systems of weights and coins used by the Persian state were founded was 1 : 12. Under the Ptolemies it was 1 : 12·5. The two Hebrew talents, if that of gold were exactly double that of silver, would have been easy for exchange in the relation of 1 : 12, 1 talent of gold corresponding to 24 talents of silver. The relation of silver to copper can be best conjectured from the Ptolemaic system. If the Hebrews derived this relation from any neighbouring state, Egypt is as likely to have influenced them as Syria; for the silver coinage of Egypt was essentially the same as that of the Hebrews, and that of Syria was different. Besides, the relation of silver and copper must have been very nearly the same in Syria and Palestine as in Egypt during the period in which the Jewish coinage had its origin, on account of the large commerce between those countries. It has, we venture to think, been satisfactorily shown by Letronne that the relation of silver to copper under the Ptolemies was 1 : 60, a mina of silver corresponding to a talent of copper. It has, however, been supposed that the drachm of copper was of the same weight as that of gold and silver, an opinion which we have proved to be incorrect in an earlier part of this article (§ ii. 3). An important question now arises. Is the talent of copper, when spoken of in relation to that of silver, a talent of weight or a talent of account?—in other words, Is it of 6000 actual drachms of 140 grs. each, or of 6000 drachms of account of about 110 grs. or a little less? This question seems to be answered in favour of the former of the two

replies by the facts, (1) that the copper coins being struck upon the old Egyptian weight, it is incredible that so politic a prince as the first Ptolemy should have introduced a double system of reckoning, which would have given offence and occasioned confusion; (2) that the ancient Egyptian name of the monetary unit became that of the drachm, as is shown by its being retained with the sense drachm and didrachm by the Copts (§ ii. 3); and had there been two didrachms of copper, that on the Egyptian system would probably have retained the native name. We are of opinion, therefore, that the Egyptian copper talent was of 6000 copper drachms of the weight of 140 grs. each. But this solution still leaves a difficulty. We know that the relation of silver to copper was 1:60 in drachms, though 1:78 or 80 in weight. In a modern state the actual relation would force itself into the position of the official relation, and 1:60 would become 1:78 or 80; but this was not necessarily the case in an ancient country in so peculiar a condition as Egypt. Alexandria and a few other towns were Greek, the rest of the country purely Egyptian; and it is quite possible that, while the gold and silver coinage was current in the Greek towns, the Egyptians may have refused to take anything but copper on their own standard. The issue of copper coins above their value would have been a sacrifice to the exchequer, if given in exchange for gold or silver, rough or coined; but they might have been exclusively paid out for salaries and small expenditure, and would have given an enormous profit to the government, if repaid in small taxes. Supposing that a village paid a silver mina in taxes collected from small proprietors, if they had only copper, the government would receive in excess 180,000 grs., or not much less than a fifth of the whole amount. No one who is conversant with the East in the present day will deny the possibility of such a state of things in Egypt under the

Ptolemies. Our decision may be aided by the results of the two theories upon the relations of the metals.

Nominal relation AV 1 = AR 12·5 = Æ 60
(Stater) (Mina) (Talent)
AV 1 = Æ 750

Relation in weight AV 1 = AR 12·5 = Æ $\left\{\begin{matrix}78\\80\end{matrix}\right.$

AV 1 = Æ $\left\{\begin{matrix}975\\1000\end{matrix}\right.$

"It must be remembered that, in endeavouring to determine which of these two relations is the correct one, we must be guided by the evidence of antiquity, not by the mathematical proportions of the results, for we are now not dealing with coins, but with relations only originally in direct connection with systems of coinage.

"Letronne gives the relation of silver to copper among the Romans at the end of the Third Punic War as 1 : 112, reduced from 1 : 83·3 both much higher values of the former metal than 1 : 60. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the relation of 1 : 80 is that which prevailed in Egypt under the Ptolemies, and so at the time at which the first Jewish coins were struck, that of Simon the Maccabee.

"We may therefore suppose that the Hebrew talents of silver and copper were exchangeable in the proportion of about 1 : 80, and, as we have seen that the coins show that their shekels were of the relative weight 1 : 2 +, we may take as the basis of our computation the supposition that 50 shekels of silver were equal to a talent of copper, or 100 = 1 talent double the former. We prefer the former relation as that of the Egyptian system.

220 × 50 = 11,000 grs.	× 60 = 660,000	÷ 1500 = 440	÷ 2 = 220
	× 70	770,000	513·3	256·6
	× 72	792,000	528	264
	× 75	825,000	550	275
	× 80	880,000	586·6	293·3

"Of these results the first is too low, and the fourth and fifth too high, the second and third agreeing with our approximate estimate of the shekel and half-shekel of copper. It is, however, possible that the fourth result may be the true one, as some coins give very nearly this standard. Which is the right system can only be inferred from the effect on the exchange, although it must be remembered that very awkward exchanges of silver and copper may have obtained wherever copper was not an important metal. Thus at Athens 8 pieces of brass went to the obolus, and 7 lepta to the piece of brass. The former relation would be easy of computation, the latter very inconvenient. Among the Jews the copper coinage was of more importance: at first of accurate fabric and not very varying weight, afterwards the only coinage. Its relation to the silver money, and afterwards to the Egyptian and Phœnician currency of the same weight, must therefore have been correct. On this ground, we should prefer the relation of silver to copper 1 : 72, giving a talent of 792,000 grs., or nearly twice the Euboïc. The agreement is remarkable, but may be fortuitous.

"Our theory of the Hebrew coinage would be as follows:—

Gold . . . Shekel or Daric (foreign) 129 grs.

Silver . . Shekel 220, Half-shekel 110.

Copper . Half (-shekel) 264, Quarter (-shekel) 132, (Sixth-shekel) 88.

"We can now consider the weights.

"The gold talent contained 100 manehs and 10,000 shekels.

"The silver talent contained 3000 shekels, 6000 bekas, and 60,000 gerahs.

"The copper talent probably contained 1500 shekels.

"The 'holy shekel,' or 'shekel of the sanctuary' (שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ), is spoken of both of the gold (Ex. xxxviii. 24)

and silver (25) talents of the time of the Exodus. We also read of 'the king's weight' (אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ, 2 Sam. xiv. 26). But there is no reason for supposing different systems to be meant.

"The significations of the names of the Hebrew weights must be here stated.

"The talent (כִּכָּר) means 'a circle,' or 'globe,' probably 'an aggregate sum.'[7]

"The shekel (שֶׁקֶל) signifies simply 'a weight.'

"The beka (בֶּקַע) or half-shekel, signifies a 'division,' or 'half.'[8]

"The 'quarter-shekel' (רֶבַע שֶׁקֶל) is once mentioned (1 Sam. ix. 8).

"The gerah (גֵּרָה) signifies 'a grain,' or 'bean.'[9]

"iv. *The history and relations of the principal ancient talents.*—It is necessary to add a view of the history and relations of the talents we have discussed, in order to show what light our theories throw upon these matters. The inquiry must be prefaced by a list of the talents:—

A. Eastern Talents.

Hebrew gold . .	1,320,000	Hebrew silver . .	660,000
Babylonian (silver) .	959,040	Babylonian lesser (silver)	479,520
Egyptian . .	840,000		
		Persian gold . .	399,600
Hebrew copper? .	792,000?		

[7] As for instance כִּכַּר זָהָב 'a talent of gold' (1 Kings ix. 14; x. 10, 14); כִּכַּר כֶּסֶף 'a talent of silver,' (2 Kings v. 22; xxiii. 33); כִּכַּר עֹפֶרֶת 'a talent of lead,' (Zech. v. 7). The word ככר also means 'a cake,' and the Greeks called gold bullion φθοῖδες 'cakes.' (Böckh, *Metrolog.* p. 51.)—F. W. M.

[8] From בֶּקַע 'to divide,' as in Gen. xxiv. 22; Exod. xxxviii. 26.—F. W. M.

[9] It may have derived its name from the circumstance that the Hebrews gave to small weights the shape of grains of corn. (Böckh, *Metrolog.* p. 58.)—F. W. M.

B. GREEK TALENTS.

Æginetan	660,000
Attic Commercial	598,800
Attic Commercial, lowered	558,900
Attic Solonian, double	860,520
Attic Solonian, ordinary	430,260
Attic Solonian, lowered	405,000
Euboïc	387,000+

"We omit the talent of the coins of Ægina, as a mere monetary variety of the Æginetan through the Attic Commercial.

"We take the Hebrew to be the oldest system of weight. Apart from the evidence from its relation to the other systems, this may be almost proved by our finding it to obtain [*i.e.* to be current] in Greece, in Phœnicia, and in Judæa, as the oldest Greek and Phœnician system, and as the Jewish system. As the Jewish system, it must have been of far greater antiquity than the date of the earliest coin struck upon it. The weight according to which the ransom was first paid must have been retained as the fixed legal standard. It may seem surprising, when we remember the general tendency of money to depreciate, of which such instances as those of the Athenian silver and the English gold will occur to the reader, that this system should have been preserved, by any but the Hebrews, at its full weight, from the time of the Exodus to that of the earliest Greek coins upon the Æginetan standard, a period probably of not much less than a thousand years; but we may cite the case of the solidus of the Roman and Byzantine emperors, which retained its weight from its origination under Constantine the Great until the fall of Constantinople, and its purity from the time of Constantine until that of Alexius Comnenus; and again the long celebrity of the sequin of Venice and the florin of Florence for their exact weight. It must be remembered, moreover, that in

Phœnicia, and originally in Greece, this system was that of the great trading nation of antiquity, who would have had the same interest as the Venetians and Florentines in maintaining the full monetary standard. There is a remarkable evidence in favour of the antiquity of this weight in the circumstance that, after it had been depreciated in the coins of the kings and cities of Macedon, it was restored in the silver money of Philip II. to its full monetary standard.

"The Hebrew system had two talents for the precious metals in the relation of 2 : 1. The gold talent, apparently not used elsewhere, contained 100 manehs, each of which contained again 100 shekels, there being thus 10,000 of these units, weighing about 132 grs. each, in the talent.

"The silver talent, also known as the Æginetan, contained 3000 shekels, weighing about 220 grs. each. One gold talent appears to have been equal to 24 of these. The reason for making the talent of gold twice that of silver was probably merely for the sake of distinction.

"The Babylonian talent, like the Hebrew, consisted of two systems, in the relation of 2 to 1, upon one standard. It appears to have been formed from the Hebrew by reducing the number of units from 10,000 to 7200. The system was altered by the maneh being raised so as to contain 120 instead of 100 units, and the talent lowered so as to contain 60 instead of 100 manehs. It is possible that this talent was originally of silver, as the exchange, in their common unit, with the Hebrew gold in the relation of 1 : 12 would be easy, 6 units of the gold talent passing for 72 of the silver, so that 10 gold units would be equal to a silver maneh, which may explain the reason of the change in the division of the talent.

"The derivation, from the lighter Babylonian talent, of the Euboïc talent, is easily ascertained. Their relation is that of 6 : 5, so that the whole talents could be readily

exchanged in the relation of 12 : 1; and the units being common, their exchange would be even more easy.

"The Egyptian talent cannot be traced to any other. Either it is an independent system, or, perhaps, it is the oldest talent and parent of the rest. The Hebrew copper talent is equally obscure. Perhaps it is the double of the Persian gold talent.

"The Æginetan talent, as we have seen, was the same as the lesser or silver Hebrew talent. Its introduction into Greece was doubtless due to the Phœnicians. The Attic Commercial was a degradation of this talent, and was itself further degraded to form the Attic Solonian. The Æginetan talent thus had five successive standards (1, Original Æginetan; 2, Attic Commercial; 3, Id. lowered; 4, Attic Solonian; 5, Id. lowered) in the following relations:—

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
6 :	5·44 :	5· :	3·9	3·6
	6·	:	4·3	
		6· :		4·3

"The first change was probably simply a degradation. The second may have been due to the influence of a Græco-Asiatic talent of Cyzicus or Phocæa, of which the stater contained about 180 grs. of gold, although weighing, through the addition of 60 grs. of silver, about 240 grs., thus implying a talent in the relation to the Æginetan of about 5 : 6. Solon's change has been hitherto an unresolved enigma. The relation of the two Attic talents is so awkward that scarcely any division is common to them in weight, as may be inferred from the data in the table of Athenian weights that we have given. Had the heavier talent been divided into quarters, and the lighter into thirds, this would not have been the case. The reason of Solon's change is therefore to be looked for in the influence of some other

talent. It has been supposed that this talent was the Euboïc, but this theory is destroyed by our discovery that the Attic standard of the oldest coins is below the weight-standard of about the time of the Peloponnesian War, and thus that the reduction of Solon did not bring the weights down to the Euboïc standard. If we look elsewhere we see that the heavier Solonian weight is almost the same in standard as the Egyptian, the didrachm of the former exceeding the unit of the latter by no more than about 3 grs. This explanation is almost proved to be the true one by the remarkable fact that the Attic Solonian talent, apparently unlike all other Greek talents, had a double talent, which would give a drachm instead of a didrachm, equivalent to the Egyptian unit. At the time of Solon nothing would be more likely than such an Egyptian influence as this explanation implies. The commercial relations of Egypt and Greece, through Naucratis, were then active; and the tradition or myth of the Egyptian origin of the Athenians was probably never stronger. The degradation of the Attic Solonian talent was no doubt effected by the influence of the Euboïc, with the standard of which its lower standard is probably identical."

Mr. Poole here concludes his researches upon 'ancient Weights.' The statements advanced by him were, at the time they were written, submitted to Mr. de Salis for an opinion, and from Mr. Poole's figures he has made a table, showing the connection of the different talents, which he has kindly allowed me to print.

	Grains.	Grains.
Egyptian copper	840,000	
Phœnician, Eginetan or Hebrew silver = 10,000 Attic drachms of 67·5 grains . .		675,000
lowered = 6000 drachms or Hebrew half-shekels, averaging 110 instead of 112·5 grs. .		660,000
Hebrew copper, degradation of Egyptian = $\frac{3}{5}$ of Hebrew gold	810,000	

	Grains.	Grains.
Hebrew gold = 2 Hebrew silver . . .	1,350,000	
Babylonian = 14,400 or 7,200 Attic drachms of 67·5 grs.	972,000	486,000
Persian gold or Euboïc = $\frac{3}{5}$ of Eginetan . .	..	405,000
lowered = 3000 Persian darics, averaging 129 instead of 135 grs.	..	387,000
lowered = 6000 Euboïc drachms, full weight 63 instead of 67·5 grs. . . .	..	378,000
Attic Commercial = $\frac{8}{9}$ of Eginetan (?) . .	..	600,000
lowered = 6000 drachms, averaging 96 grs. or $\frac{24}{25}$ instead of 100	..	576,000
lowered = 6000 drachms, averaging 93·75 grs. or $\frac{15}{16}$ instead of 100 . . .	..	562,500
Attic Solonian = $\frac{8}{9}$ of Babylonian (?) . .	864,000	432,000
lowered = 6000 drachms, averaging 67·5 grs. or $\frac{15}{16}$ instead of 72 . . .	..	405,000

Mr. Poole did not, however, adopt Mr. de Salis's scheme, for the following reasons, which he has placed at my disposal.

1. The Hebrew copper talent is too obscure for any safe conjecture to be hazarded. It may be a degradation of the Egyptian. The proportion of $\frac{3}{5}$ to the actual weight of the Hebrew gold talent is that obtained from the conjecture that the silver was to the copper as 1 : 72, for then

AV		AR		Æ	
1	:	24	:		} value
		1	:	72	}
1		·5		·6	weight,

But it is more practical to compare the silver and copper talents and show that the relation in weight ·5, ·6 or 1 : to 1·2 was exactly what the relation in value 1 : 72 would require. The gold talent being double the silver, the relation in weight of copper to silver necessitates a relation to gold, which may be illusory.

2. The connection of the Euboïc talent in its Persian

gold form with the Æginetan or Hebrew may be objected to. The relation should rather be $\frac{6}{10}$, for the Persian gold talent is to the Babylonian 5 : 6 and the Babylonian to the Hebrew apparently 72 : 100, but there is no reason for directly connecting the Persian gold talent with the Hebrew.

3. The Attic Commercial talent may be $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Æginetan, but this is conjectural.

4. The derivation of the Attic Solonian from the Babylonian is more than unlikely.

5. The reckoning of the value of the talents is not satisfactory in the following points.

A. The Æginetan is put at an original weight of 675,000 as equal to 10,000 Attic drachms of 67·5 grains. This is possible, but no coins are as high as to warrant this standard of the former.

B. The Babylonian talents are raised from 959,040 and its half to 972,000 and its half, in order that they should contain a certain number of Attic drachms of 67·5 grains, but this is impossible for two reasons: (1) the value obtained from ancient weights forbids so large an addition, and (2) the Attic drachm was heavier than 67·5 grains as a weight, at the time to which the Assyrian and Babylonian weights belong, and probably was not then known as a coin, whether of that or any other standard weight.

C. The values of the Persian gold or Euboïc talent may be objected to on the following grounds; the first is higher than the Assyrian and Babylonian weights or the Persian weight allow. The second is below the Persian weight, and the third is too exactly the result of the coins of Eubœa, which were probably deficient.

D. The first lowering of the Attic Commercial talent seems to be too light for the heaviest coins, which would suit the heaviest standard of the talent at 598,800 grains, allowing for the usual striking coins below weight.

E. The estimate of the oldest Attic Solonian talent at 432,000 seems to be too high, the weights giving a maximum of 430,260.

6. There seem to be two cardinal defects in this table. (1.) Actual relations are assumed to be relations of origin and not accidental. (2.) It is assumed that talents may be computed as exact multiples of coins. This is perhaps true in the case of the reduced Attic Solonian, which appears to have been fixed at a multiple of the drachm of 67·5, but it is not improbable that it was so fixed at a time when the current drachm had already fallen a few grains, occasioning a slight deficiency between the drachm of weight and of coinage.

Notwithstanding these objections, the table of Mr. De Salis seems to be well worthy of consideration, as it appears hardly possible to suppose that the intimate connection of the different talents should only be the result of accident. His principal argument is that the original talent would be the Babylonian or Phœnician; the mina of both is identical, but the division of the former is $6 \times 12 = 72$, while that of the latter is $10 \times 10 = 100$. We must, however, leave further investigations of the subject to the student of this particular branch.

We now pass on to an examination of the copper coins from the time of Herod I., though really very little satisfactory result seems ever to be obtained from weighing copper coins. Indeed, the weighing of a large number of copper coins might only lead to an abandonment of all existing theories.

The large coins of Herod I. with the monogram ⅋ (nos. 1 and 2) weigh about 104 grains. Those with the Macedonian shield and also the monogram ⅋ (no. 3), weigh from 82 to 64 grains, and those with the letter X in the centre of a wreath (nos. 6 and 7), weigh from 48 to 43. The coins with the type of the anchor and two cornua-

copiæ (nos. 8 to 14), weigh from 27 grains to 20; whilst that with the caduceus and pomegranate (no. 5) weighs 49. From these weights we think we may venture to say that the coinage of Herod I. consisted of three denominations, the Τρίχαλκον, the Δίχαλκον, and the Χαλκοῦς, and upon two systems—a greater and a lesser. At present a specimen of the Δίχαλκον in each system is wanting. We tabulate our results:

	Greater.	*Lesser.*
Τρίχαλκον (Ꝑ)	104	82 to 64
Δίχαλκον	wanting.	wanting.
Χαλκοῦς (X)	48 to 43	27 to 20.[1]

The coins of Archelaus, with the type of the helmet and vine-leaf (no. 8), weigh from 39 to 32 grains. The smaller ones average from 22 to 15 grains.

Coins of Agrippa I. with the type of the *tabernaculum* and three ears of corn (no. 1) weigh from 47 to 38 grains.

Those struck in the reign of Augustus, weigh from 46 to 34 grains, and from 26 to 18 grains. The reign of Tiberius gives coins of the weight of 35 to 23 grains; those of Claudius give 38 grains, and those of Nero 40 to 30 grains.

The small copper coins of the revolt of the 2nd and 3rd years correspond very nearly to those of Nero, and weigh (2nd year) from 51 to 49 grains, and (3rd year) from 44 to 36 grains.

[1] Only the coins weighing 48 to 43 grains have the sign X. A χαλκοῦς of Antioch in Syria is quoted by Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 75, *note* 52) as weighing 32 grains. The χαλκοῦς of Agrippa II. (no. 6) weighs 23 grains. When the large coinage of Herod ceased, the coins weighing 48 to 43 grains are the *semis*, and those weighing 27 to 20 the *quadrans* (see the arguments pp. 300, 301). The coin of Herod (no. 5) which is in the British Museum, weighs only 49 grains, but it is in a very bad state of preservation, and appears to have lost a great deal in its weight. Originally it may have weighed from 60 to 55 grs. It probably belongs to the lesser system of Herod I. and is a τρίχαλκον, as there is certainly the monogram Ꝑ upon it.

Having now obtained a general idea of the weights of these copper coins, it is necessary, if possible, to determine which is the κοδράντης and which the λέπτον?

Cavedoni says,[2] "the weight of these Jewish coins, struck since the time of Augustus to the fifth year of Nero, corresponds with that of the *semis* of Augustus and Nero and the *quadrans* of Nero. There is a rich succession of small Roman coins in copper, struck by the mint-masters of Augustus from the year of Rome 731 to 742 [B.C. 22 to B.C. 12; *read* 740 to 751, see p. 300], of which we as yet only know that they are nothing else than the *semis* of the Cæsars, or the eighth part of the new *sestertius* in copper (Borghesi, *Bullet. Archeolog.* 1845, p. 153). As their weight corresponds pretty nearly with the larger copper coins of Herod, these must therefore be in like manner considered as *semisses*. The indubitable *semisses* of Nero, recognizable by the mark S (*semis*) weigh about 58 grains. Other coins, whose weight varies between 32 and 37 grains, will accordingly be *quadrantes*."

From this Cavedoni does not hesitate to assume that the larger coins of the Herods are *semisses*, and the smaller ones both of them and of the Cæsars are *quadrantes*.[3]

As regards the λέπτον, Cavedoni is of opinion that St. Mark meant to say—"*one lepton* was of the value of *one quadrans*." For, says this numismatist, "in the first place, if it had been his intention to express that two of the small pieces of money were equal to a *quadrans*, then he must have written ἅ ἐστι, instead of ὃ ἐστι κοδράντης, and the Vulgate also very correctly has the *singular* number, inasmuch as it translates *quod est*, but not *quæ sunt*. And

[2] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 74.

[3] It is well known that Mæcenas advised Augustus to introduce into all the provinces of the Roman Empire, only *Roman coins, weights*, and *measures*, (μήτε δὲ νομίσματα, ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ, ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμέτεροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν. Dion. Cass. lii. 30.)

in the second place it is evident from both the parallel passages of the Gospel, that the *quadrans* is the same as the *lepton*, for the words of our Lord in St. Matthew (v. 26) are ἔσχατον κοδράντην, and in St. Luke (xii. 59) are ἔσχατον λέπτον." His third reason, that because Euthymius Zigabenus, an ancient commentator, was of opinion that the *quadrans* equalled the *lepton*, therefore it is the fact, I do not much value; but "finally," says Cavedoni, "the contrary supposition, viz. that the *quadrans* was equal to *two lepta*,—as the *quadrans* at that time weighed only 30 grains—would bring the result, that among the Jewish coins in the time of our Saviour, some must have existed of the weight of 15·44 grains, or perhaps a little more; but of such kind of small Jewish coins I know none."

I am not, however, at all prepared to admit that all these assertions are true, nor can I believe that we are left without a representation of the *lepton*. The idea that St. Mark should have written ἅ ἐστι instead of ὅ ἐστι, had he intended to make two *lepta* equal to one *quadrans*, is one that I must leave to Biblical critics to explain, for I find no explanation in Alford's *Greek Testament*, though Bland in his *Annotations to the N. T.* has quoted from Beza and Wassenburgh, the former saying that ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης is a marginal quotation which has crept into the text, and the latter that there is no mode of getting over the difficulty of the passage but by expunging the words. Cavedoni's second reason is childish, for we might just as well say at the present day, that because we make use of the expression that such an article is "not worth a *penny*," or "not worth a *farthing*," *therefore* the *penny* and the *farthing* are one and the same coin. His final argument, that the *lepton*, if it existed, would weigh 15·44 grains, and there are no Jewish coins of that weight, can be answered by the table of coins given further on, where may be noticed

coins of Archelaus of so low a weight as 15 grains, and of Augustus as low as 18 grains, a fact he does not seem to have been aware of.[4]

The results then that Cavedoni has arrived at, relative to this question, do not seem to us as satisfactory as they might be, nor does it seem likely that the *semis* which is not mentioned by the Evangelists should be in existence, and the *lepton* which is mentioned, should not be extant. As, however, it is distinctly stated by the Evangelist that *two lepta* went to the *quadrans*, we consider that two distinct coins are meant.

[4] Schleusner (*Lex. N. T.* s. v. κοδράντης) after Fischer, considers the κοδράντης of the N. T., of which the λέπτον was a half, not to have equalled the *Roman quadrans*, but to be the 4th of the *Jewish as*. The *Jewish as* is made to correspond to the half of the half-ounce *Roman as*, and the *Jewish quadrans* to equal half an Attic *chalcus*, of which *chalci* 48 made a drachm. The following table shows their meaning:—

		JEWISH.	ROMAN.
Attic drachm and Denarius	= 6 obols or 48 *chalci*		
obol	= 8 *chalci*	= 4 *assaria*	= 2 *asses*
	4 *chalci*	= 2 *assaria*	= 1 *as*
	2 *chalci*	= 1 *assarion*	= *Semis*
	1 *chalcus*	= *Semis*	= *Quadrans*
	½ *chalcus*	= *Quadrans*.	

According to the Hebrew writers the פרקמה or פרוטה was the eighth part of the *assar* (Buxtorf. *Lex. Tal.* s. v. אסיר) or *Jewish as*, and, since the Evangelists have translated this word פרוטה by λέπτον it follows that the *quadrans* equalled δύο λέπτα.

Jewish as	= 8 *lepta*
Jewish semis	= 4 *lepta*
Jewish quadrans	= 2 *lepta*.

It is, however, quite out of the question to suppose that there was a *Jewish as* or a *Jewish quadrans*, and the coins of the Jewish Princes, who, as is well known, owed their position to the Romans, and the coins issued by the Procurators, must have been struck on a *Roman standard*. (See our Tables, pp. 299, 301; also *note* 3 on p. 296.)

We must, however, first make some digression to explain what we know of the weights in the Imperial period. Under Julius Cæsar the *as* weighed half an ounce Roman (208 grains), and two new coins were struck of yellow brass (*orichalcum*), called *sestertius* and *dupondius*, while the *as* continued to be struck in *copper*.[5] The *sestertius* weighs 416 grains, and its half, the *dupondius*, 208. The copper *as* also has the same weight as the *dupondius*, and can only be distinguished by the difference of metal.

A table will be the shortest method of explanation :—

ROMAN COINS.

YELLOW BRASS.	COPPER.
Sestertius 478-383 [416]	
Dupondius 208 [208]	*As* 235-160 [208]
Dupondius 214 (Nero [208] marked II.)	*Semis* 71 (Augustus) 69 (Tiberius) 81 } (Nero, same type as 89 } those marked S). [104]
	As [108 ? Augustus] *As* 141-118 (Nero marked T.)
	Semis 54-42 (Augustus struck by the legates.) *Semis* 68-45 (Nero marked S.)
	Quadrans 36-23 (Nero.)

[5] "Hoc a Liviano cadmiam sorbet, et *orichalci* bonitatem imitatur in *sestertiis dupondiariisque*, Cyprio suo *assibus* contentis" (Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 2). The Livian mine is said by Pliny (*l. c.*) to have received its name from the wife of Augustus, and probably the coins of Livia, with IVSTITIA, SALVS and PIETAS, which are of excellent workmanship, are *dupondii* made from this mine. The word *orichalcum* properly denotes *brass*, with which the ancients became acquainted by fusing zinc ore (*cadmium*, calamine) with copper, although they do not appear to have had much knowledge of zinc as a metal. Strabo (xiii. p. 610) mentions

The small coins of Augustus, struck by triumvirs in the years 741 and 742 [B.C. 13 and B.C. 12], and also all those struck by four triumvirs in 750 and 751 [B.C. 4 and B.C. 3] which, as shown in the above table, weigh from 54 to 42 grains, have been weighed also by Borghesi[6] and Cavedoni.[7] The former obtained as an average of 229 examples the weight 47 grains, and the latter from 70 examples that of 54 grains. From the proximity of weight between these coins and those of Nero marked S (*semis*) there can be no doubt that they are of the same value and denomination.[8]

ψευδάργυρος (metallic zinc), which, mixed with copper, became what is called κρᾶμα (a mixed metal), which some call ὀρείχαλκος. From its golden colour doubtless arose the false orthography *aurichalcum*. The true derivation is from ὄρος and χαλκός, *i. e. mountain-bronze*. The copper (*aes Cyprium*) came from Cyprus, whence the modern name of *copper* is said to be derived; but an old tradition says it was first found in Eubœa and the town of Chalcis took its name from a copper mine. (Pliny, N. H. vii. 56; iv. 12; Smith's *Dict of Antiquities*, s. vv. *Aes, metallum, orichalcum*). See *note* p. 17, on the passage "two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold."

[6] Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 135.

[7] *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 75, *note* 52.

[8] M. Cohen's observations on these coins of Nero are as follow. "Si les lettres II signifient *dupondius*, la lettre I *as*, et la lettre S *semis*, comme sur les monnaies de la république, les médailles de grand bronze seraient des *tripondius* ou des *quadrussis* (je suis obligé de m'exprimer ainsi à cause de la grande différence qui existe entre le poids de tel grand bronze et celui de tel autre), et sous les règnes postérieurs à Trajan, il n'existerait plus que, des *tripondius* ou des *quadrussis*, des *dupondius* et des *sémis*. D'après cette donnée, assez vague et assez difficile à admettre, je laisse aux amateurs le soin de peser eux-mêmes leurs médailles de bronze et à en tirer les conclusions qu'ils croiront convenables" (*Méd. Imp.* vol. i. *Introduction*, p. xiv). I venture, however, to think that the balance of evidence is in favour of the large brass being the *sestertius*, and the second brass when of the same metal (*orichalcum*) the *dupondius*, and when of copper, the *as*; otherwise, we are left altogether without a representative of the *sestertius*. (See *note*, p. 299.) There are some pieces of Augustus [legend PROVIDENT. size Æ. I], which weigh 315 grains. Are these the *tripondius?*

There are also coins of Augustus struck in Judæa weighing 46 grains, which must also be specimens of the *semis*. From the coins of Nero struck at Rome, we obtain for the weight of the *quadrans* 36 to 23 grains, and as there are coins of Augustus struck in Judæa as well as of Tiberius, Claudius and Nero, averaging in weight from 39 to 26, we can safely assume that these represent the *quadrans*. It therefore follows, from these statements, that the *lepton* would weigh from 15 to 18 grains. Specimens of coins of this weight *struck in Judæa* are still extant.

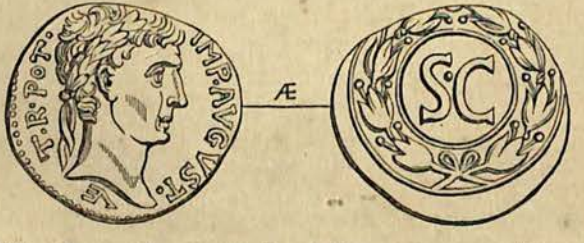
The following table will show our results :—

	ROMAN.			JEWISH.		
	As	Semis.	Quadrans.	Semis.	Quadrans.	Lepton.
Herod I. . .	..	..	..	48 — 43	27 — 20	
Archelaus . .	..	..	..	47	39 — 22	18 — 15
Agrippa I. . .	..	..	..	47	38	
Augustus . .	..	54 — 42	..	46	26	18
Tiberius . .	..	..	..	..	35 — 23	[17]
Claudius . .	..	..	..	..	38	[19]
Nero . . .	141 — 118	68 — 45	36 — 23	40	37 — 30	[18·5,15]
Revolt (2nd year)	..	..	..	51 — 49	..	
Revolt (3rd year)	..	..	..	44	36	

Although from this table it may be seen that the λέπτον of the time of the Evangelists was of rare occurrence, yet it must have been a common coin in the time of Alexander II. after the death of Alexander Jannæus to the accession of Antigonus (B.C. 69—40). The numerous coinage of Alexander Jannæus doubtless continued in use for a long time, and the extreme vicissitudes of the period after his death may have only permitted smaller copper coins of semi-barbarous workmanship to be issued. These small coins, which were formerly attributed to Alexander Jannæus (though we cannot exactly determine at what period of his reign they could have been struck)

average in weight from 20 to 15 grains, and certainly represent the λέπτον.

We next notice the *assarion*, of which the *quadrans* was the fourth, and the *lepton* the eighth. It is stated in Schleusner[9] that 'some have thought the ἀσσάριον to be equal to the *half* of the Roman *as*,' which I understand to mean 'to be equal to the *as semuncialis*, the half of the one ounce Roman *as* (*as uncialis*)'.[1] The Jewish *as* or *assarion* is by the Jewish writers made to correspond with the *half* of the *half-ounce* Roman *as*, *i.e.* the *semis*, an idea I have already rejected.[2] The *assarion* of the New Testament must be sought for among the *Greek Imperial* coins. Judæa being a Roman province of Syria, the copper currency of Augustus and Tiberius struck at Antioch in Syria, having on the reverse S. C. within a wreath, seems to furnish us with probable specimens. One of these coins with the head of Augustus is given by Mionnet[3] with the countermark ΓΑΔ, proving that it was lawfully current in Gadara of Decapolis. The large brass of the coins of Augustus struck at Antioch weigh from 302 to 242 grains, and the second brass about 143. The second brass of Tiberius are rather lighter, weighing from 130 to 120



grains. The large brass is doubtless the *as* of copper, and the second brass the *semis*, though both are struck very much over weight.[4]

[9] *Lex. N. T.* s. v. ἀσσάριον.

[1] Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 3.

[2] See p. 298, *note*.

[3] *Suppl.* vol. viii. pp. 139—140.

[4] Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 111, *note* 91) averages the weight of the large brass from 262 to 231 grains, and that of the second brass

As we have alluded to the coins[5] of Chios in our description of the *assarion*, it may not be uninteresting to give a table of their weights, though, I am afraid, they do not throw much light upon the *assarion* of the New Testament, beyond the fact of establishing that a single coin is probably intended by the *δύο ασσάρια* of St. Luke.[6]

TABLE OF WEIGHTS OF COINS OF CHIOS.

Names.	1st Period.	2nd Period.	Assarion.	Average of Assarion. 1st Period.	Average of Assarion. 2nd Period.	Excess in weight.	Loss in weight.
TPIA	302	. .	100·6		. .	45·65	
[should weigh, 1st	269	. .	89·6	85·45	. .	12·65	
Per. 256·35, 2nd	251	. .	83·6		. .	. .	5·35
Per. 108·5.]	204	. .	68		. .	. .	52·35
		119	39·6	. .		10·5	
		115	38·3	. .	36·166	6·5	
		92	30·6	. .		. .	16·5
ΔΥΩ	142	. .	71	71			
[should weigh, 2nd		86	43	. .		6·68	
Per. 79·32.]		77	38·5	. .	39·66	. .	2·32
		75	37·5	. .		. .	4·32
ACCAPION	. .	. .	79	. . .	. .	8 [1st Period, ΔΥΩ.]	6·45 [1st Period, TPIA]
ΠΜΥΑCCAPION*							
weighing 126	. .	. .	252				
„ 62	. .	. .	124				
„ 48	. .	. .	96				
OBOΛOC weighing 111							

* These coins seem to belong to a different system.

The only coins of Antipas and Philip II. that I have been able to weigh are both in the collection of Mr. Wigan; the former (no. 2) weighs 164 grains, and the latter (no. 3) 82 grains, doubtless representing the *as* and the *semis*. The larger coins of Agrippa II., with heads of Vespasian,

at 123 grains. The former he wishes to identify with the *dupondius*, and the latter with the *as* at Rome. He forgets that the *dupondius* at Rome was of *yellow brass*, and the *as* of *copper*. (See p. 299.)

[5] See p. 243.

[6] Borghesi, after weighing several specimens of the TPIA ACCAPIA piece, acknowledges that they only seem to prove that in Asia, under the Imperial rule, a coin was in circulation equal to three *asses* (Cavedoni, *Bibl. Num.* vol. i. p. 118, *note* 94).

Titus, and Domitian, weigh about 170 grains, and the smaller 97 grains. A small coin of Agrippa II. under Nero in the collection of Mr. Wigan (no. 4) weighs 39 grs. This is probably a *quadrans*. The copper coins of the first Revolt weighing on the average from 179 grains to 88 grains have been identified by Cavedoni[7] with the Roman *dupondius* and *as*. This is again an error. They should be identified with the *as* and *semis* of copper.[8] The large brass coin, now ascribed to Simon Nasi (no. 1) gives the peculiar weight of 515 grains. Cavedoni[9] suggests that it might have been worth 5 or 6 *asses*, but is it not more likely a re-struck large brass?

[7] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 61, *note* 36.

[8] See p. 299.

[9] *Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. *l. c.*

CHAPTER XIII.

WRITING.

The ancient Hebrew character is acknowledged to have been the same, or nearly so, as the Phœnician. Without entering deeply, therefore, into the controverted question of the invention of Writing, it will be desirable to consider briefly the opinions advanced by palæographers and scholars as to the origin of the Phœnician.

That writing was used at a very remote period by the Egyptians and Babylonians is certain, and it is not therefore surprising that advocates have been found to refer to one or the other the source of that alphabet which in its turn became the parent of the letters of the Western Nations. The *Hieroglyphic* system of the ancient Egyptians consists of a certain number of figures to express letters or syllables, and a vast number of ideographic or symbolic forms to represent words. The use of the *Hieratic* writing is assigned to the 6th dynasty (*circ.* B.C. 2200),[1] and its object was the writing *Hieroglyphics* on

[1] This date is taken from Mr. Poole's calculations (Art. *Egypt.* Dr. Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*), where the 1st dynasty and the accession of Menes is assigned to B.C. 2700. Lepsius has placed the commencement at B.C. 3892, and Bunsen 200 years later, but according to Poole (*l. c.*) these calculations are based on a statement of the false Manetho. The earliest Hieratic writing known to exist is said to be on the papyrus of M. Prisse d'Avennes, at Paris, which has been published by M. Chabas in the *Revue Archéologique* (vol. xv. p. 1). It is supposed to be of the 6th dynasty. It was assigned by the Rev. Mr. Heath, in the *Monthly Review* (July, 1856), to a Phœnician king, Assa, who was one of the Shepherd Kings of the 15th dynasty. Mr. Poole is inclined to this latter opinion (see *Horæ Ægypt.* p. 175; Joseph. *contr. Apion*, i. 14). To whatever *dynasty* Hieratic writing may be assigned, it is certain that it is not of a later date than B.C. 2000.

papyrus with greater ease and expedition.[2] According to the united testimonies of classical writers, the Egyptians are spoken of as the earliest instructors in writing, and Tacitus[3] more expressly states that letters were adopted by the Phœnicians from the Egyptians.

Paravey, Salvolini, and Lenormant have endeavoured to prove that the Phœnicians derived their alphabet immediately from the *Hieroglyphics*, but De Rougé[4] has shown that this theory lies open to serious objections, and has brought forward a more probable supposition, viz. that the Phœnicians framed their alphabet from the *Hieratic*, by selecting a certain number of characters sufficient for the purpose, and rejecting altogether the ideographic forms. He endeavours to prove this by comparing the alphabet on the Phœnician monument of Esmunazar, King of Sidon (*circ.* B.C. 599),[5] with that found on the most ancient papyrus known to exist in the *Hieratic* character, which is anterior to the 18th dynasty (B.C. 1500), and hence concludes that they probably borrowed their alphabet during the sojourn of the Shepherd Kings in Egypt.[6] If not absolutely proved, yet many circumstances tend to confirm the view here taken. The geographical position of the Phœnicians, and their known character as a commercial and sea-faring nation, would lead them immediately to Egypt to barter their wares, and it would not be long before they would naturally feel sensible of the

[2] The formation of the *Hieratic* from the *Hieroglyphic* is clearly seen in the Tables of Brugsch (*Grammaire Demotique*, 1855).

[3] *Ann.* xi. 14.

[4] *Sur l'origine Egyptienne de l'alphabet Phénicien*, publ. in the *Revue de l'Instruction publique*, 8 Sept. 1859.

[5] This is the date assigned to it by the Duc de Luynes. De Rougé (*l. c.*) says it is of the 12th cent. B.C.! This must be a mistake.

[6] About B.C. 2080 Egypt was invaded by strangers, known as the Shepherds, who appear to have been Arabs cognate with the *Phœnicians*. (Poole, Art. *Zoan*, Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*)

necessity of a less complex medium in order to maintain their intercourse. Sir Gardner Wilkinson seems to give us the real solution of this long agitated question, in brief but precise words. He says,[7] "The claim of *real alphabetic writing* is certainly in favour of the Phœnicians. For while the Egyptians in the *Hieroglyphic* and *Hieratic* had upwards of 2000 years before our era invented the *first germ* of the alphabetic system, the Phœnicians, a highly practical people, *first struck out the idea of a simple and regular alphabet.*" One of the strongest proofs in confirmation of this argument is the fact, that in framing their alphabet the Phœnicians adopted the same process previously employed in the Egyptian phonetic system,[8] by taking the first letter of the name of the object chosen to represent each sound, as A for *Aleph* (a bull), B for *Beth* (a house), G for *Ghimel* (a camel), etc., in the same manner as the Egyptians represented A by an eagle (*Akhôm*), M by an owl (*Moulag*), etc. This alphabet must have been used and even communicated to Greece[9] long before the *Demotic* form of writing was introduced into Egypt (about the 7th cent. B.C.),[1] and one cannot help supposing, that in return for the benefit conferred on the Phœnicians by the primitive mode of writing in Egypt, this nation of merchants must have considerably influenced the Egyptians in causing them to adopt the more perfect phonetic system of the *Demotic* writing, which in its forms bears even some resemblance to the Phœnician letters.

It must not, however, be denied, that many eminent

[7] In Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 317.

[8] Gesenius and Ewald both are of opinion that the Semitic Alphabet was constructed by a *people connected with Egypt.* (See Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, vol. i. p. 24).

[9] *Herod.* v. 58.

[1] The earliest instance now existing of *Demotic* writing is dated B.C. 665 (Brugsch, *Grammaire Demotique*, p. 4), but of course used previously.

scholars have turned their eyes in another direction for the origin of the Semitic alphabet, and have designated Babylonia as the true mother of the characters employed in very ancient times in Syria and Mesopotamia. Kopp,[2] Hoffmann,[3] Davidson[4] and Levy[5] support this view, and chiefly on the following grounds, that besides the cuneiform writing used so constantly in Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, a cursive character was also employed identical with the Phœnician, and therefore probably borrowed by the latter people. The earliest specimens of this cursive character (accompanied by cuneiform) are on the bronze lion-weights now in the British Museum, and others occur on a few of the bricks, cylinders and gems. But on this theory Kenrick[6] justly remarks, that the occurrence of these characters only proves the intercourse between the two people, and *not that the cuneiform was the parent of the Phœnician.* Norris,[7] also, in reference to the same, writes, "It is suggested, and is certainly possible, that the inscriptions on the bronze lions may be the *cursive Assyrian alphabet*, which could thus have been *subsequently adopted by the Phœnicians*," but that these cursive characters on undoubted Assyrian monuments, though allied to them, are still different, and "the language of the inscriptions on the lions seems peculiarly *Hebrew* or *Chaldee.*" Gesenius[8] is on the same side of the question, and argues that the characters on the bricks are genuine Phœnician, but not of the most antique form, and he suggests that, during the period of the Persian sovereigns, the Babylonians possessed a common alphabet with

[2] *Bilder und Schriften*, vol. ii p. 147. [3] *Gram. Syr.* p. 61.

[4] *Biblical Criticism*, vol. i. p. 25.

[5] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 140. [6] *Phœnicia*, p. 164.

[7] *Journal of Roy. Asiatic Society*, vol. xvi. p. 226, *note.*

[8] Art. *Palæographie* in Ersch and Gruber's *Algemeine Encyclopädie.*

the Phœnicians. Lastly, Sir G. Wilkinson[9] maintains "that the ancient Assyrian letters could not have been the origin of those used in Greece."

The oldest Phœnician inscriptions as yet discovered, are, however, those on the Assyrian bronze lion-weights above referred to, the earliest of which bears apparently the name of Asshur-izir-pal, B.C. 880, and the next in date gives us the name of Shalmaneser II. circ. B.C. 850.[1] Asshur-izir-pal was the first of the Assyrian monarchs who made an expedition to conquer the tribes on the sea-coast,[2] and it is reasonable to suppose that from this period (if not previously) a commercial intercourse was carried on between the Phœnician and Canaanite merchants and Babylon, a fact also so remarkably confirmed by finding inscriptions both in cuneiform and Phœnician writing on a series of lion-weights, a precaution evidently taken for the sake of traffic.

That the Hebrews borrowed the use of writing from Mesopotamia or Phœnicia, has been universally admitted, and according to Gesenius,[3] the old form of their writing was certainly derived from the Phœnician, and retained by the Samaritans, after the Jews had adopted another character of Aramaic origin. The same argument is followed by Sir G. Wilkinson,[4] who adds, that the ancient Hebrew alphabet was evidently borrowed from the Phœnician before the Egyptians had purely phonetic writing, and was

[9] In Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 319.

[1] See their description, p. 259.

[2] Recorded on a monolith, which was placed in the vestibule of the Temple of Mars at Calah (Nimrúd). Several cities and countries are named, to which this King made expeditions, and among them *Tyre* and *Sidon*. (Sir H. C. Rawlinson, *Outlines of Assyrian History*, p. xxiii; read before the *Asiatic Society*, 5th June, 1852.)

[3] *Scripturæ linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta*, 4to. Lips. 1837, p. 78.

[4] In Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 320.

probably used as far back as the time of Moses. He concludes, therefore, that alphabetic writing must have been in use upwards of 1500 years before our era.

We now come to the characters found on the coins struck by the Asmonæan Princes from B.C. 139, and which from that date to B.C. 40 were in constant use. Their great similarity to the Phœnician will at once be seen, and afford a convincing proof of their origin. The same character is again adopted during the revolts of the Jews, and ceases only with the death of Bar-cochab in A.D. 138, having existed throughout a period of 300 years. Hence is explained the assertion of Eliezer of Modaim, a cotemporary of Bar-cochab, "that the *Aschurith* (that is to say, the Assyrian character) had not been changed."[5] Gesenius,[6] to account for the late use of these characters on the coins, instances the similar case of the Cufic characters on Mahomedan coins, met with long after the *Nishki* was employed for writing. The earliest specimen of the Samaritan alphabet (which is almost the same as the coin-character), occurs on a stone found near Nablous,[7] the ancient Sichem, in an inscription containing the ten commandments in an abbreviated form. This monument is attributed to a period preceding the reign of Justinian (A.D. 527-565), and the forms of the letters show how the coin-character was further developed until it arrived at the more cursive writing found in the oldest of the Samaritan *Codices*. The resemblance is so evident between the Samaritan and coin-character, that it is not surprising that the latter was called the "*Samaritan*," although it is beyond all doubt that the character was first acquired by

[5] *Cf.* Synhed. 22 B; Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 146.

[6] *Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift*, §. 46, p. 156 *seq.*

[7] Published by Dr. Georg Rosen in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xiv. pp. 605-634. There are also some remarks on this stone by Prof. E. Rödiger.

the Samaritans *from* the Jews, but was modified after their separation.[8] The alphabet of the coin-writing given in the plate is chiefly from Levy, who has taken the forms from the coin-illustrations of De Saulcy, but I may add, that I have myself verified the characters with the *coins themselves*. It will be seen that all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet occur on the coins, excepting *Teth*, *Samech* and *Phe*. The *Zain*, though it may be found in the table of Asaria de Rossi,[9] who gives as his authority the work of an anonymous Christian author,[1] was not known as a *coin-letter* till the coins of Eleazar were published by M. de Vogüé.[2] It bears a great resemblance to the Samaritan form of the same letter found in MSS. It will also be seen that *Zain* and *Samech* are wanting in the Samaritan alphabet from the Nablous stone; and the *Teth* has been taken from another monument, the description of which is given by Rosen.[3]

The more difficult task now remains, to ascertain how the more recent *square characters* of the Jews have been developed or taken the place of the ancient Hebrew writing. It is, perhaps, impossible to discover the precise time at which the change took place. In the Talmud it is referred erroneously to Ezra, and the writing called *Assyrian*, and said to be brought from Assyria, but the meaning of אשורית has been disputed.[4] Hupfeld[5] speaks of the 1st and 2nd century A.D., as the date of the square cha-

[8] Levy, *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 141.

[9] In his *Meor Enajim*, c. 56.

[1] It would be desirable to ascertain who this author was.

[2] See p. 161.

[3] *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Gesell.* vol. xiv. *l. c.* Plate, no. 2.

[4] Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, vol. i. p. 30.

[5] *Stud. und Kritiken*, 1830, p. 279 *seq.* This and two or three of the following references are collected together by Davidson, from whom I borrow them.

racter. Havernick[6] refers the change to a period prior to Christ, in consequence of the well-known passage in Matt. v. 18. With this the Palmyrene inscriptions will agree, for the usage of that writing must have been at least a century earlier than the inscriptions. Ewald[7] refers the change to the century before and the century after the Christian era. Herbst[8] opposed this view and his arguments are given by Davidson at length, who says that all analogy is in favour of the change being a gradual one, and in this view he agrees with Kopp[9] and Gesenius.[1] It certainly had not been made when the coins of Simon Maccabæus were first struck in A.D. 139, nor had it been made under Antigonus in B.C. 40, for his coins still bear the same character. It is likely, says Davidson,[2] "that the old writing had been modified from the time of Ezra to the Maccabæan princes, and had slowly inclined to the square characters. The alteration proceeded gradually to the first century A.D., when it was consummated, but then not wholly, as appears from the coins of Bar-cochab with old Hebrew letters at the time of Hadrian. The Jewish traditions in the Talmud are not to be relied on, and the statements of Africanus, Irenæus, Origen and Jerome were all derived from Jewish traditions." On the whole Davidson concludes, "that the change was completed in the first half of the 2nd century A.D. Both sorts of characters were therefore used in the century before Christ and the century after." This hypothesis seems the most reasonable that has been offered.

[6] *Einleit.* vol. i. p. 291.

[7] *Ausfuhrlicher Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache,* p. 100.

[8] *Historisch-Kritische Einleit. in die heil. Schriften des Alt. Test.* i. p. 61 *seq.*

[9] *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit.* vol. ii.

[1] *Monument Phoenic.* p. 78.

[2] *Biblical Criticism,* vol. i. pp. 34-36.

The earliest monuments of the square Hebrew may be stated as follows:—

1. The Egypto-Aramæan monuments.
2. The Nabathæan inscriptions on coins and at Sinai.
3. The Palmyrene inscriptions.
4. The earthen bowls discovered at Babylon.
5. The earliest Hebrew MSS. and monuments.
6. The Jewish catacombs at Rome, Venosa, and Lavello.

1. *The Egypto-Aramæan writing* is found on Egyptian monuments, proceeding probably from Jews or Syrians settled in Egypt. The language was a dialect of the Aramaic, which constituted the northern branch of the Semitic family.[3] Mesopotamia and Babylonia form its proper domain, but it subsequently superseded the Hebrew in Palestine, and at last obtained complete supremacy. The Egypto-Aramæan and the Palmyrene writing form the links between the coin-characters and the square character, and represent it in a transition state. The Egypto-Aramæan monuments are:—

A. *The inscription on a stone at Carpentras accompanied by Egyptian sculpture.* The characters come near to the Phœnician, and are thought to present the most ancient specimen of the Aramæan series. This monument has been considered by Gesenius[4] to have been executed by a Syrian of the Seleucidian period. It may, however, be the production of a Jew inclining to the Egyptian worship.[5] The Aramæan alphabet was certainly derived from the Phœnician, since all the letters correspond except *He* and *Jod*.[6]

B. *The papyri at Turin and in the possession of the Duc de Blacas.* These are written in a Chaldee dialect,

[3] Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, latest edition, s. v. *Aramaic language.*

[4] *Monument Phœnic.* p. 232.

[5] Kitto, *l. c.*

[6] *Monument Phœnic.* p. 82. See our Plate.

mingled with Hebraicisms. In the Blacas *papyri*, as on the Babylonian bowls, the first vestiges of final letters (*Caph* and *Nun*) appear. The characters on all the *papyri* are similar to those on the Carpentras monument, but resemble more closely the *Palmyrene* and *square Hebrew*. Their age may be assigned to the reign of the latest Ptolemies.

2. *The Sinaitic Inscriptions* are assigned by the Duc de Luynes,[7] to about A.D. 18. He gives two alphabets, one taken from the coins of Nabathæa[8], and the other from the inscriptions of *Gebel Mocatteb*, published by Dr. Beer in 1840.[9] The resemblance of several of the letters to the square Hebrew is very striking. Mr. Forster, in his works relative to the *Sinaitic Inscriptions*,[1] supposes that they were written by the Israelites during their wanderings, and says that many of the letters are identical with the square character, as *Tau*, *Nun*, and *Resch*. Other considerations, however, induce us to agree with Sir G. Wilkinson,[2] that these inscriptions are of a Christian age.

3. *The Palmyrene inscriptions* found at Palmyra are generally bilingual, in Greek and Aramaic, and are of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd centuries (from A.D. 48 to A.D. 257).[3]

[7] See Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, ed. Thomas, vol. ii. p. 167.

[8] In the *Revue Archéologique* for April, 1864 (p. 284), M. de Vogüé publishes some "Nabathæan and Aramæan inscriptions brought from Hauràn," among which there is one dated in the 7th year of Claudius (= A.D. 47), and another in the 11th year of King Malchus, whom de Vogüé considers to have been a cotemporary of Herod.

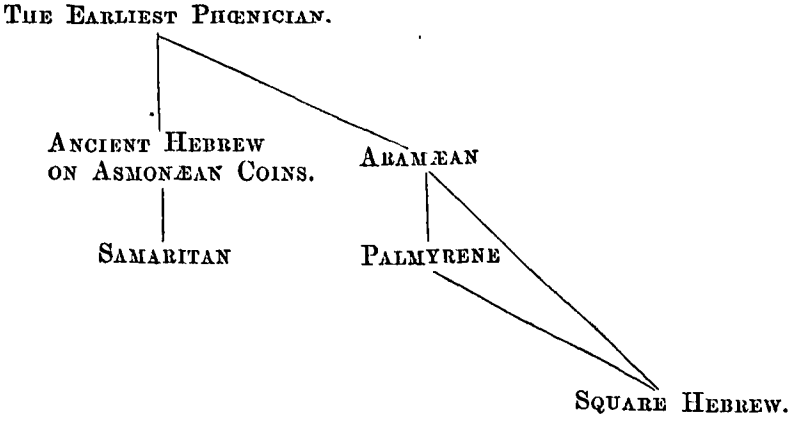
[9] *Inscriptiones veteres litteris et lingua hucusque incognitis ad montem Sinai magno numero servatæ*, by E. F. F. Beer. Leipzig, 1840.

[1] *Israelitish authorship of the Sinaitic inscriptions*, 8vo. 1856; *Sinai photographed*, 4to. 1862.

[2] In Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 320.

[3] Swinton, *Explication of the Inscriptions in the Palmyrene Language* in the 48th vol. of *Phil. Trans.* pp. 690-756; see also Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra*, Lond. 1753.

The language closely resembles the Syriac, and the character is clearly akin to the square Hebrew, but inclining to cursive forms. It is probable that this form of writing was universal at that period in Syria. Its origin may be sought in the Egypto-Aramæan, from which all the letters are borrowed. In the Aramæan two final letters are found, and in the Palmyrene also the final *Nun*. This Palmyrene writing, says Gesenius, is the immediate parent of the square Hebrew, all the letters are the same or easily derived from it, except *Cheth* and *Koph*, which are borrowed from the Aramæan. The following table, taken from Gesenius, shows the descent of the square Hebrew from the old Aramæan of Egypt as modified by the Palmyrene:



4. *The Babylonian bowls* were probably written by Jews at Babylon or Chaldæa. According to Ellis,[4] the character is a mixture of the Palmyrene and Syriac. He thinks that the writing on no. 1 of the bowls answers to the description of the ancient Hebrew letters in the Talmud, and refers to Abraham de Balneis, who, in his Hebrew Grammar, says that the Hebrew letters brought from Assyria

[4] In Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853, p. 510.

were composed of straight lines.[5] The modern Samaritans still call their writing *'Ebri* or *Ebreni*, and the square Hebrew *El-Aschuri*.[6] As regards the date of these bowls, Layard[7] conjectures no. 1 to be perhaps of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C., or later, and others to be of the 5th century A.D., but according to Levy,[8] they are partly of the seventh century A.D. On the earliest of them there is no strict use of final letters and no separation of words, whereas, on no. 5, final letters as well as separation of words are constantly found.[9]

5. *The earliest MSS. and Monuments.*

A. *The earliest existing Hebrew MSS.* are at present preserved in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg,[1] which has recently acquired the collection of Herr Firkowitz, and in which Library are now also deposited the Hebrew MSS. described by Pinner[2] as formerly preserved at Odessa. The greater part of the MSS. of this collection have dates, which are reckoned according to different epochs. The Biblical MSS. consist of fragments of the Pentateuch Rolls without vowel points, and of various portions of the Old Testament accompanied with vowel

[5] De Balneis lived only in the 16th century, and his opinion is not of much value. The theory of Champollion (*Palæographie Universelle*), that they were derived directly from the *cuneiform* seems quite untenable, though Ellis modifies this theory by supposing that the square character was invented in order to write the cuneiform with greater ease, an opinion not admitted by Layard. (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 525.)

[6] Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, p. 75.

[7] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 525.

[8] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 142.

[9] See our Plate.

[1] For the account of the Hebrew MSS. in this Library, as well as for the information relative to those noticed by Pinner, I am indebted to Mr. W. Wright, who has kindly permitted me to make an extract of a letter addressed to him, and dated Nov. 1863, from Prof. Chwolson of St. Petersburg.

[2] *Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft gehörenden ältesten Hebräischen und Rabbinischen Handschriften.* Odessa, 1845.

points. The earliest date is on a Roll which was found in a Karaite Synagogue at Tschufutkalé in the Crimea. The inscription is as follows;

הוקדש פה | ק טמטרקא | לפנים טמירקא |
ש אשדת ליצה | אקפה לגלותנו

i.e. "Dedicated [by the Synagogue] here to the Congregation [ק meaning קהל or קהילת] of Tamatarka [*i.e.* Phanagoria, the present *Taman* on the Peninsula of the same name] formerly Thamirake, in the year 4400 of the Creation, 1185 after our Exile."

From other inscriptions calculated at different epochs, it is apparent that the Jews in the Crimea made use of two eras calculated from the Creation, which differed from each other 151 years, so that we must add 89 years to the one, and 240 to the other, to obtain the corresponding Christian year. The year 1700 of the Exile in one inscription is identified with the year 1316 of the era of the Seleucids. The first era is therefore reckoned from B.C. 696, the date of the Assyrian exile under Shalmaneser, and the year 1185 of the Exile corresponds to A.D. 489. To the second era, calculated from the Creation, only 89 years are to be added, *i.e.* A.D. 489.

It is right to add that Professor Chwolson has not seen this inscription, but that he was informed by M. Firkowitz that it had been obliterated by some photographic process.[3]

Other fragments of Rolls exist in which the date of purchase or dedication is mentioned; for example, 1335 = A.D. 639; 1460 = A.D. 764; 4541 of the Creation = A.D. 781; 1485 of the Exile and [4]700 of the Creation = A.D. 789; 1494 of the Exile = A.D. 798; 1501 of the Exile and

[3] Mr. Wright (*Journ. of Sacred Lit.* Jan. 1864, p. 474) considers this inscription as suspicious, for *Thamirake* is a well-known town, situated out of the Crimea, a little westward of Perekop, but *not* in the peninsula of Taman. There may, however, have been two towns of this name. The earliest MS. noticed by Pinner (*l. c.*) was written, according to the subscription, previously to A.D. 580.

4565 of the Creation = A.D. 805, in which year this Roll was stolen by the Gothic tribe of the Tetraxians, and recovered by force from them by the newly converted Chazars. This inscription is unquestionably genuine, and the Roll evidently very ancient.

There are also others dated [4]726 of the Creation = A.D. 815 or 966 (?); 4603 of the Creation = A.D. 843; [1]544 of the Exile = A.D. 848; [4]608 of the Creation = A.D. 848, etc.

Among the MSS. formerly at Odessa, described by Pinner (*l. c.*) is one containing Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the later prophets, and bearing the date A.D. 916. Of this one (which corresponds in date to one of the sepulchral inscriptions from Aden spoken of below), Pinner has given an excellent facsimile. It has this peculiarity, that the vowels and accents are written *above* instead of below the letters, a practice which has been assumed to indicate a Babylonish origin.[4]

The opinion of Dr. M. Heidenheim[5] that the MS. of the Prophets in the British Museum (*Add.* 4708) is a *codex* of the 6th or 8th century, does not merit serious attention. It is probably not earlier than the 13th or 14th century.

B. *The Inscriptions on the sepulchral stones from Aden, now in the British Museum.* These are four in number, of which two are dated, one A.D. 717-718, and the other A.D. 916-917. It is remarkable that the forms of I (ו), + (ז) T (ז) and ⅃ (נ) correspond closely with those on the earthen bowls found at Babylon... The peculiar letter 𐩠 on the later of these monuments, for *Aleph*, seems to be of Himyaritic or Ethiopic origin.[6]

[4] Pinsker, *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-hebräische Punktationssystem.* Wien, 1863. He also gives a facsimile of this MS.

[5] *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, vol. i. p. 259, edited by Dr. M. Heidenheim.

[6] In the *Revue Archéologique* for March, 1864 (p. 200), M. de Vogüé has published an account of some Hebrew inscriptions at Jeru-

6. *The Jewish catacombs at Rome, Venosa, and Lavello.*

In September, 1853,[7] some Jewish catacombs were discovered at Venosa, upon some of the niches of which some inscriptions in *Hebrew*, Latin, and Greek are either roughly painted or scratched. Twenty-four of the inscriptions as yet found are in *Hebrew*. The Latin and Greek inscriptions are misspelt, but the *Hebrew* ones are more correct. It has also been noticed[8] "that at Lavello there were also found some *Hebrew inscriptions* in the last century, and other *Hebrew catacombs* were discovered in 1854 at Oria. The existence of numerous Jews in Apulia and Calabria in the fourth century, is proved by many contemporary records, and especially by a law of the Emperor Honorius of the year 398, 'Vacillare per Apuliam et Calabriam plurimos ordines civitatum comperimus, quia Judaicæ superstitiones sunt.'"[9]

salem. The latest date to which one of them (that of the family of Beni-Hezir) could possibly belong, is assigned by him to A.D. 70, on the ground that Hebrew ceased to be spoken after the destruction of Jerusalem; but this assumption is evidently of little weight, for it is certain that the Hebrew language and alphabet were employed by the Jews in sepulchral and other inscriptions from the earliest period at which they are found through successive centuries downwards, as evidenced by the inscriptions at Rome (assigned by M. de Vogüé himself to the 2nd century), the bowls from Babylon and the monuments from Aden. The proof of antiquity offered by M. de Vogüé from the form of the letter *Mem*, is also far from conclusive, for the same form appears on both the inscriptions he engraves, one of which he assigns to a period shortly before the birth of Christ, and the other to the 2nd century A.D. On the Aden monuments, also, of the 8th and 10th centuries, the form of the *Mem* is so similar that no palæographic argument can be drawn from it. Further evidence is therefore required of the presumed antiquity of this inscription of the family of Ben-Hezir, than has yet been adduced.

[7] Murray's *Handbook for Southern Italy*, p. 361. Bosio (*Roma Sotterranea*, 1632, p. 142), mentions a cemetery of the Jews with only *Greek* inscriptions. See also Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, 1659, vol. i. p. 236. [8] Murray, *l. c.* [9] *Cod. Theod.* xii. i. p. 158.

Some specimens given by Burgon[1] of Jewish inscriptions are chiefly in Greek, though some are in Greek and Latin. The only *Hebrew* word occurring upon them is שלום (שלום) '*peace.*' Whether any account has been published of those discovered at Venosa and Lavello, I am unable to say, and therefore can assign no exact date to them; but it is hardly possible that they can be later than the seventh century.[2]

Our plate has been carefully formed from an examination of all the monuments previously referred to. The first column of writing presents the earliest Phœnician letters as found on the Assyrian lions (*circ.* B.C. 880), and the letters there wanting are supplied from the bulls of Sargon (*circ.* B.C. 648). The second column is taken from the monument of Esmunazar, king of Sidon (*circ.* B.C. 599). The third represents the coin-characters. The fourth the Samaritan characters from the Nablous monuments (before A.D. 527). The fifth and sixth the Aramæan (end of the Ptolemies—death of Cleopatra, B.C. 30). The seventh the Palmyrene (2nd and 3rd century A.D.). The eighth and ninth the characters on the earthen bowls found at Babylon,[3] and the tenth and eleventh those on the stones from Aden (A.D. 717-718; 916-917). The gradual derivation of the square Hebrew from the Phœnician, through the Aramæan and Palmyrene, is too striking to require any further explanation.

[1] *Letters from Rome*, by Rev. J. Burgon, p. 163 *seq.*

[2] Burgon (*l.c.* p. 130) says that the researches of Cav. G. B. de Rossi will, he hopes, soon be given to the world. The first volume of his work is already published, but contains only an account of the Christian catacombs.

[3] Since making this alphabet, which has been taken from the bowls themselves, now in the British Museum, I find that Dr. Levy has already given an alphabet and written an excellent paper upon them. (See *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morg. Gesellschaft*, vol. ix. 1855, pp. 465-491)

TABLES

TO ILLUSTRATE THE COINAGE

FROM THE

DEATH OF HEROD I. TO THE DEATH OF HADRIAN.

I. B.C. 4 TO A.D. 40.

II. A.D. 41 TO A.D. 81.

III. A.D. 82 TO A.D. 138.

B.C.	A.D.	Era of Augustus (commenced B.C. 27) on Coins of Procurators.	Years of Tiberius on Coins of Procurators.	Years of Antipas.	Years of Philip II.	Years of Agrippa I.	Observations.
4		24		1	1	. .	Death of Herod I., and division of his Kingdom.
3		25		2	2		
2		26		3	3		
1		27		4	4		
	1	28		5	5		
	2	29		6	6		
	3	30		7	7		
	4	31		8	8		
	5	32		9	9		
	6	33 L.ΛΓ		10	10	. .	Archelaus deposed. Coponius
	7	34 L.ΛΔ		11	11		first Procurator.
	8	35 L.ΛЄ		12	12		
	9	36 L.ΛϚ		13	13		
	10	37		14	14	. .	M. Ambivius succeeds Coponius.
	11	38		15	15		[Ambivius.
	12	39 L.ΛΘ		16	16 L.IϚ?		
	13	40 L.M		17	17	. .	Annius Rufus succeeds M.
	14	41 L.MA	1 L.A	18	18	. .	Death of Augustus. Tiberius Emperor. Valerius Gratus succeeds Annius Rufus.
	15		2 L.B	19	19 L.IΘ		
	16		3 L.Γ	20	20		
	17		4 L.Δ	21	21		
	18		5 L.C	22	22		
	19		6 L.Ϛ?	23	23		
	20		7	24	24		
	21		8 L.H?	25	25		
	22		9 L.Θ?	26	26 L.KϚ		
	23		10	27	27		
	24		11 L.IA	28	28		
	25		12	29	29 L.KΘ	. .	Pontius Pilate succeeds Valerius Gratus.
	26		13	30	30		
	27		14 L.IΔ?	31	31		
	28		15	32	32		
	29		16 L.IS	33 L.ΛΓ	33 L.ΛΓ		
	30		17 L.IZ	34 L.ΛΔ	34		
	31		18 L.IH	35	35		
	32		19	36	36		
	33		20	37 L.ΛZ	37 L.ΛZ		
	34		21	38	38	. .	Death of Philip II.
	35		22	39	. .	. .	Pilate sent to Rome. Marcellus appointed by Vitellius.
	36		23	40			
	37		24	41		1 (and 2)	Death of Tiberius. Caligula.
	38			42		3	Marullus Procurator.
	39			43 L.MΓ		4	Antipas banished to Gaul.
	40					5 L.Є	

A.D.	Years of Claudius on coins of Procurators.	Years of Nero on coins of Procurators.	Years of Agrippa I. continued.	Agrippa II.			Observations.
				Dates on coins of Ag. II. with Nero and Vespasian, counting from the Chalcian Era.	Dates on coins of Ag. II. with Titus, counting from the Tetrarchy of Philip being given him.	Dates on coins of Ag. II. with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, counting from the Era of Tiberias.	
41	1		6 L.S	. .	. .	. .	Caligula assassinated. Claudius.
42	2		7 L.Z				
43	3		8 L.H				
44	4		9 L.Θ	. .	. .	. .	Death of Agrippa I. Cuspius Fadus, Procurator.
45	5						
46	6						
47	7	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	Tiberius Alexander, Procurator.
48	8						
49	9			1	. .	. .	Ventidius Cumanus, Procurator.
50	10			2			Agrippa II. succeeded Herod,
51	11			3			King of Chalcis.
52	12			4	. .	. .	Claudius Felix, Procurator.
53	13 L.IΓ			5	1	. .	Chalcis taken away from Agrippa II. and the tetrarchy of Philip and Lysanias given to him instead.
54	14 L.IΔ	1		6	2	. .	Death of Claudius. Nero.
55		2		7	3	. .	Agrippa receives from Nero, the
56		3		8	4		cities of Tiberias, Tarichæa and
57		4		9	5		Julias.
58		5 L.C.		10 L.I	6		
59		6		11 AI TOY	7		
60		7		12 KAI π	8	. .	Porcius Festus succeeds Felix as
61		8		13	9	1	Procurator.
62		9		14	10	2	Death of Festus. Annas Procurator.
63		10		15	11	3	Annas succeeded by Albinus.
64		11		16	12	4	
65		12		17	13	5	Gessius Florus, Procurator.
66		13		18	14	6	Jewish war begins.
67		14 L.IΔ		19	15	7	Capture of the city of Jotapata.
68		15		20	16	8	Death of Nero. Galba, Otho and Vitellius.
69				21	17	9	Vespasian Emperor. Titus & Domi-
70				22	18	10	tian made *Cæsars*. [Vespasian.
71				23	19	11	Conquest of Judæa. Cos. III. of
72				24	20 ET.K	12	Cos. IV. of Vespasian. Cos. II. of
73				25	21	13	[Titus.
74				26 { ET.RK / ET.KS }	22	14 { ET.ΔI / L.IΔ }	
75				27 ET.KZ	23	15	
76				28	24	16	
77				29 ET.KΘ	25	17	
78				30	26 ET.KS	18 ET.HI	
79				31	27 ET.KZ	19 ET.IΘ	Death of Vespasian. Titus.
80					28	20	Cos. VIII. of Titus.
81					29 ET.KΘ	21	Death of Titus. Domitian.

A.D.	AGRIPPA II. continued. Era of Tetrarchy of Philip, continued.	Dates on Coins of Ag II. with Domitian, counting from Era of Tiberias, continued.	Observations.
82	30	22	
83	31	23 ET.KΓ	
84	32	24 ET.KΔ	Domitian surnamed *Germanicus.*
85	33	25 ET.KE	
86	34	26 ET.KS	Cos. XII. of Domitian. (12th consulship.)
87	35	27 ET.KZ	
88	36	28	
89	37	29	
90	38	30	
91	39	31 ET.ΛA	
92	40	32	
93	41	33	
94	42	34 ET.ΔΛ	
95	43	35 ET.EΛ	
96	44	36	Death of Domitian. Nerva.
97	45	37	
98	46	38	Death of Nerva. Trajan.
99	47	39	
100 to 114	48	40	Death of Agrippa II.
115	. .	. .	Sedition of the Jews in Cyrene and Egypt.
116			
117	. .	. .	Sedition suppressed by Lusius Quietus.
118 to 128			Death of Trajan. Hadrian.
	. .	. .	Hadrian assumes the title of *Pater Patriæ.*
131	. .	. .	Foundation of *Ælia Capitolina.*
132	. .	. .	Jewish war.
133			
134	. .	. .	Severus sent from Britain to Judæa.
135 to 138	. .	. .	Surrender of Bethar in Aug. and the war ended soon after. Death of Bar-cochab. Death of Hadrian.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

A. The Talmudic Writings on the Coinage of the First and Second Revolts.

In justification of the classification of Jewish coins to the First and Second Revolts by Dr. Levy, I think it will be but right to give *verbatim* the evidence he has collected from the Talmudic writings.[1]

"It is well known that no trace of the Maccabæan coins is to be found in all the Jewish writings subsequent to the Bible, even to the end of the Talmud, excepting the well-known passage in the book of Maccabees. On the other hand, many quotations in that traditional work refer to coins of the time of the two Revolts. Let us consider these passages in the chronological order in which they were written.

"In the *Mishna*, we have found no allusion to the subject. In the *Thosiphtha*, the next source, we read occasionally of the release of the second tithe (*Ma'aser Sheni*, c. 1, 5)[2]: אין מחללין אותו לא על מטבע שמרוד ולא על מטבע שאינו יוצא ולא על המעות שאין ברשותו כיצד היו לו מעות כזביות וממעות ירושלמיות אין מחללין אותו עליהן אם חלל לא קנו עליהן מעשר אבל מטבע היוצא משם מלכים הראשנים מחללין אותו עליהן, *i.e.* "The *Ma'aser Sheni* is not to be

[1] *Jüd. Münzen*, pp. 126—131.

[2] "We cannot take any notice of the corrections of R. Elias Wilna, in the very sad and critical state of the Thosiphtha; since, in spite of his acuteness, he often falls into mistakes, as he frequently alters the text according to the Babylonian Talmud, and by so doing is often led into errors."

redeemed by the coinage of the Revolt, nor by a coinage which is not current, nor by a money of which they are not in possession.' How is this to be understood? When they have money of Ben-Kosiba, or of Jerusalem[3] they must not redeem with it; and if they have done so, they can buy no *Ma'aser Sheni* with it. Yet they might redeem with the money that was current in the time of earlier kings.

"The passage of the *Talmud Jerushalmi* (*Ma'aser Sheni*, 1, 2) runs thus; מטבע שמרד כנון בן כוזיבא אינו מחלל היו לו מעות של סכנה אתא עובדא קומי רבי אימי אמר יוליך הניוה לים המלח; *i.e.* 'The coins of the revolt, as well as those of Ben-Kosiba, cannot be used for release, the danger-money, in obedience to the decision given in a certain case by R. Ime, shall be thrown into the salt-sea (*i.e.* 'sea' in general).'

"The Babylonian *Gemara* (*Baba Kama* 97*b*.) is mentioned in the aforesaid *Thosiphtha*, in the following manner; אין מחללין על המעות שאינם יוצאות כיצד היו לו מעות כוזביות ירושלמיות או של מלכים הראשונים אין מחללין *i.e.* 'They durst not release with coinage that was not current, for instance, with money of Kosiba or of Jerusalem,[4] or with that of other kings.'

"Now, even if it be shown by comparing this passage, that the text of the *Thosiphtha* has been much corrupted, yet this at least is certain, that Ben-Kosiba struck money; that a remainder of it was still extant after the Mishnaitic times, but at that time had no currency. But what are we to understand by the *Jerusalem-money*, and the *Danger money?*

[3] "ומעות ought certainly to be read instead of וממעות, as is clear from the other Talmudic passages quoted further on."

[4] "Peculiar, although unfounded, is Lightfoot's opinion (*Opp. omn.* i. p. 452), 'Ita dicti sunt, quod ejusdem ponderis et valoris forent cum moneta Hierosolymitana, non cum Tyria.'"

"The former we meet with again in another part of the Jerusalem *Talmud* (*Kethub.* i. 2); אמר ר׳ יוחנן סלעים סבורוניות מהגינות ירושלמיות. In this place mention is made of the sum prescribed in the *Kethuba* of the woman, which, according to the opinion of some scholars, might be composed of holy shekels (after Tyrian money), according to others, of some other current coinage. On this point it is remarked by R. Johanan, that סבירוניות, מהגינות and Jerusalem-coins also were sufficient in this case. Moreover, if we are in the dark as to what is meant by the two first kinds of coin,[5] yet this much is certain, that they, as well as the Jerusalem-coins, did not belong to the proper currency. We also arrive at the same conclusion from the passages before quoted, without, however, coming to a decided opinion on the Jerusalem-coins. Let us consider one other quotation in the *Talmud* (*Bechoroth* 50, a. *Abôda Sara.* 52 b.) Thus it says; בקשו לגנוז דינרא הדריינא טוריינא שיפא מפני טבעו של ירושלים, *i.e.* 'They had willingly laid aside the smooth polished *Denarii* of Hadrianus Trajanus on account of the types of Jerusalem which were struck upon them.' This passage is not easy to be understood.[6] We must however understand it, as follows, until we get a better explanation. Trajan, it is well known, called in, in the year A.D. 107, the silver coinage which had hitherto

[5] "Is it not possible to read סלעים נרוניות מהגמנות ירושלמיות *i.e.* 'Neronian *denarii* of the Jerusalem Chiefs.' This conjecture certainly seems somewhat hazardous, yet it is at any rate worthy of attention, in spite of the evidently corrupted text. The Talmud besides knew סלע נירונית 'a *denarius* of Nero.' Cf. *Baba Mezia* 25, b."

[6] "Gratz (iv. p. 514) thinks this passage should be understood that Hadrian (Trajan was an adopted name and שיפא = Σεβαστός) profaned the holy coins of Jerusalem, probably intended for building the Temple, and stamped his own name *Hadrianus Trajanus Sebastos* thereon. Clever as this suggestion is, we must still doubt the שיפא = *Sebastos*, and the supposition that the money was meant for building the Temple."

been current in the Roman empire, in consequence of the falling off of the profit,[7] and issued it anew, coining it of full weight and value after the *denarii* of his time, and stamped with the Restoration-mark of Trajan. We must now assume that many coins were certainly still current in Jerusalem, and especially in Palestine, belonging to the time of the Jewish Revolt under Nero, with the legend 'Jerusalem' (ירושלם), or with the types which bear reference to the Holy Temple. In the Restoration-mark of Trajan, these were certainly not passed over, and the coins thus profaned were turned into re-coined, well-polished, smooth coins;[8] thus they were a stumbling-block to the Jews, and they would gladly not have used them, had not a verse of Scripture (Ezekiel vii. 22) come to their assistance in the embarrassment, which must necessarily have arisen from not using so current a coinage. For the rest we hold with Gratz, with regard to the words 'Hadrianus Trajanus' in the passage above quoted, as being the full name of the Cæsar Hadrianus, as he is usually called on those coins which were struck by him. The rendering which we have given of the Talmudic passage, finds its confirmation through its connection with another passage, with which it is found together in both places (*Bechoroth* and *Aboda Sara*). On this point says R. Osija,

[7] "*Cf.* Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesens*, p. 758 *seq.* This *savant* informs us that the rule of measurement was not adhered to in the entire circuit. In another place he says that a letter was stamped on the coin, when it was considered to give no profit."

[8] "So we must take the word as שיפא. The name שבא means in the Syriac and Chaldee 'to smooth, to polish, to brighten, to clean;' thence also שבא and שיפא (in Syriac), 'evenly, brightly,' (*cf.* Bernstein. *Lex. Syr. ad chrestom.* Kirsch. *s. v.*) This signification holds good for those coins which came *bright* from the Mint; whilst, according to the old common meaning 'rubbed,' that is when the stamp was no longer intelligible, there was no reason to reject the coins, as the superscription was illegible."

'they would willingly have abstained from the use of gold and silver, because of the gold and silver of Jerusalem' (which, as Raschi teaches us, was for the most part *holy*), and thereupon as an objection to this opinion, follows our passage. If we turn back after this digression to the Jerusalem-coins, we are of opinion that no other coins could well be meant, than those which were struck in the time of the Revolt under Nero, which, as before said, bear the legend 'Jerusalem,' and the types which referred to this city and the temple.[9] But the same coins are in like manner signified by the parallel passage above quoted 'The Money of Danger,' (מעות של סכנה). In the above quoted passage from *Baba Kama*, 'Money of Kosiba' and 'Jerusalem-money' are connected together as not being current coinage, therefore the money of the first and second Revolt, for 'Jerusalem-money' is found in the passage of the Jerusalem *Talmud* (*Ma'aser Sheni*, 1, 2), as 'Money of Danger,' which must therefore be considered identical with the other. The time of Ben-Kosiba is called simply שעת שמד or דור של שמד,[1] as also the time of the First Revolt is called now and then the time of סכנה; thus the Mishna, *Kethub.* 9, 9: R. Simon b. Gamliel says 'from the time of danger and thenceforth (מן הסכנה ואילך) the woman can redeem her *Kethuba*, without producing the bill of divorce.' Here evidently is meant by סכנה, the first Revolt of the Jews, in which Simon himself played so active a part."[2]

[9] "It is easy to perceive that the passage (*Kama*, 97 *b*), איזהו מטבע של ירושלים, can throw no light on the subject. The same passage is mentioned in the section on False Jewish coins."

[1] "*Cf.* Grätz, iv., p. 526."

[2] "*Cf.* also Mishna, *Sabbath*, 19, 1. But why the מעות של סכנה was thus rejected, that no profit could be gained by it, the commentators on the Talmud do not make clear; neither can we assign any reason for it."

B. Counterfeit Jewish Coins.

We have given, in the previous section, some of Dr. Levy's researches from the Talmud relative to the coins of the first and second Revolt. It may not be uninteresting to give also some of the passages he has selected from the Talmud, from which many of the counterfeit Jewish coins have probably been made.[3]

"It is well known that the invention of stamped coins, as well as of other useful arts, was ascribed by the Greeks and Romans to the Gods and Heroes. . . . . The Arabs were not behindhand in this matter. Kuthami[4] mentions gold *denarii* of Nimrod (Nemrûdâ) and the Midrasch claims for his contemporory Abraham, the honour of having first blest the world with money. There are four, says Bereschith Rab. (cap. 39), to whom the invention of coins (מוניטין, *monetæ*),[5] may be ascribed; Abraham, of whom it is said (Gen. xii. 2), 'And I will make of thee a great nation,'—therefore from him coins proceeded. And what are these like? An old man and woman on the one side, and a youth and maiden on the other. After him comes Joshua, of whom it is said in the Bible (Josh. vi. 27), 'So the Lord was with Joshua, and his fame was noised throughout all the country;' his coins went over all the

[3] *Jüd. Münzen*, p. 159 *seq.*

[4] "See Chwolson: *Ueber die Ueberreste der Babylonischen Literatur*, pp. 53 and 73; comp. Gutschmid, *Dîe nabathäische Landwirthschaft und ihre Geschwister*, in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch. Morgenl. Gesell.* xv. p. 42."

[5] "The interpretation of the Midrasch rests upon a play upon words: *moneta* (coin) and *monitum* (remembrance), both from *moneo*, resounding again in מוניטין (*see* Beer, *Das Leben Abraham's*, p. 209). *Cf.* also Isid. *De Orig.* xvi. 17, 'moneta, quia monet, ne qua fraus in metallo vel pondere fiat;' therefore also derived from a kind of Midrasch, instead of from the *Juno moneta*, in whose Temple there was a mint."

world. Of what kind were they? A bull on the one side, and a buffalo on the other; according to the saying (Deut. xxxiii. 17), 'His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns (רְאֵם).' Then David, according to the words (1 Chron. xiv. 17), 'And the fame of David went out into all lands,' so also his coins went over all the world. And what were they? A shepherd's wallet and staff on one side, and a tower on the other, according to the verse (Solomon's Song iv. 4), 'Thy neck is like the tower of David.' Lastly, Mordecai, of whom it is said (Esther ix. 4), 'For Mordecai was great in the king's house, and his fame went out throughout all the provinces.' So coins are also attributed to him. How may they be described? Sackcloth and ashes on one side, and a crown of gold on the other.

"Coinciding with this passage from Midrasch there is one in the *Talmud* (*Baba Kama*, 97 *b*). It is said in the Boraitha, 'How did the coins of Jerusalem look? (איזהו מטבע של ירושלים). David and Solomon on the one side, and Jerusalem, the holy city, on the other. And how the coins of our Patriarch Abraham? An old man on one side, and a youth and maiden on the other.' Whereupon Raschi adds, 'Old man and woman, that is Abraham and Sarah; youth and maiden, that is Isaac and Rebecca.' ....

"These are the chief passages, which, from the directions they contain, have, in a measure, served for the fabrication of so great a quantity of false Jewish coins, that they nearly surpass the authentic ones in number. So that we must not be surprised when we find that a *savant* of the last century asserts that he had not met with a single authentic Jewish coin in any cabinet.[6] But that

[6] "Rasche, *Die Kenntniss antiker Münzen*, p. 40." [Also Pinkerton, in his *Essays on Medals*, vol. i. p. 291, 'Hebrew shekels and brass coins with the Samaritan characters are generally fabrications of modern Jews; the admission of but one of them is rightly esteemed to be a disgrace to a cabinet!']

originals of these specimens were once extant, as some numismatists wish to affirm, in accordance with the judgment of some teachers of the Talmud, we must deny. We think that no Rabbi of the time of the Talmud ever produced the original of such a coin; the assertion is, as has been shown, a mere play upon the word '*moneta*,' and the description of the coins is but an abstract of the Greek and Roman coins, the types of which they could not interpret. This is also the case with the passage quoted from the Talmud, 'What is the coin of Jerusalem?' which renders less intelligible the above given מעות ירושלמיות, which was already not understood, but which is more calculated to bring to our minds the types found on some Greek and Roman coins.

"The fabricators of these coins have on the whole gone very clumsily to work. The Abraham coin has, in fact, no image; it appears somewhat in the following manner;[7]

Obv. ש א זקן וזהינה א ש *Rev.* י ר בחור ובתולה ר י

according to the Midrasch, Talmud and its commentatators.[8]

"On the other fabricated coins, the writing is not faithfully followed, as for instance, there is one with the inscription דוד המלך ובנו שלמה המלך, *i.e.* 'King David and his son King Solomon,' and on the other side, round a city or tower, ירושלם עיר הקדש, *i.e.* 'Jerusalem the holy city.' Consistently with this the *Talmud* (*Jerus. Sanhedrin*, 2, 3) also ascribes coins to King Saul; 'Abigail, David's wife, refused to own his royalty, as Saul's money was still cur-

[7] "For illustrations of this kind of coin, *see* Hottinger, *Cippi Hebraici;* Froelich, *Annales Syriæ;* Leusden, *Philologus Hebr. mixtus*, ii. p. 129, ed. Ultrajecti."

[8] "The single letters should denote the names of *Abraham, Sarah, Isaac*, and *Rebecca*."

rent (עדיין מוניטא דמרן שאול קיים).' Probably *remembrance*, *reputation*, may have been implied.

"Another coin has round an image of Solomon, bearing a crown on his head, the words שלמה המלך. 'The King Solomon,' and on the other side, round a building, which should represent the Temple built by him, היכל שלמה 'Solomon's Temple.' Even the image of Moses with his name on one side and on the other the verse (Exodus xx. 3), 'Thou shalt have no other Gods before me,' are found as coin types. Very frequent is a coin with the head of Christ, and the name ישו 'Jesu' and the wonderful inscription on the reverse, משיח מלך בא בשלום אלהים אדם עשוי, *i.e.* 'The King Messiah comes in peace, God is made man.'[9]

"Other forgeries are made with more or less skill, either from authentic original coins, or from descriptions of them. The notorious Becker, who possessed no inconsiderable knowledge of numismatics, and noted skill in copying old original coins, had also in his list[1] a shekel of Simon of the year II, and this is faithfully copied from an original specimen. The inscription is also copied from it, and is in old Hebrew writing. The other current shekels have the square writing. One of them goes as far back as King David, and has the inscription, שקל דוד נשאר בלם באוצר ציון בבית המקדש, *i.e.* 'Shekel of David, which remained hidden in the treasure of Zion in the Sanctuary;' written round a tree, at the side of which are found an urn with a crown, and an anointing horn, and the letter ש (short for שקל?). The other side has a vase with a three-fold bough, and also a crown and horn by its side, and above these the letters ש ב are brought in,

[9] "Other similar coins, such as those of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, we pass over here; they are found in the writings above specified."

[1] "Pinder, *Die Becker'schen falschen Münzen beleuchtet*, p. 27, no. 127."

יהוה שמר ישראל (מלך?) כבוד בירושלים, *i.e.* 'The Lord is Israel's guardian, King of Glory (?) in Jerusalem.' The most frequent, however, is a very large silver piece (cast) with an olive-branch with many leaves and buds, and the inscription ירושלים הקדושה 'The Holy Jerusalem' on one side, and on the other, round a vessel, from which issues smoke, שקל ישראל 'Shekel of Israel.' Whoever has seen a genuine shekel, will hardly allow himself to be deceived by so bungling a performance; apart from other signs, the legend in *square Hebrew writing* is especially the surest mark of Forgery."

ADDENDA.

Page 50, lines 17, 18. *For* 'This fruit is only found on the coins of Simon Maccabæus,' *read* 'This fruit is only found *alone* on the coins of Simon Maccabæus.'

Page 142. A specimen of the coin (no. 3), described by Cavedoni from the Ducal Museum at Parma, is in the collection of the Rev. Churchill Babington. He had not acquired it till after the sheet had gone to press.

Page 145. *Additional note.* 'The coin of Julia (no. 1), mentioned at p. 141, with the date L. A, and also the one at p. 145, with the date L. Δ, both described by Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* vol. ii. p. 47), who, in a *note*, states that he has taken them from Mionnet (vol. viii. p. 377, nos. 67, 68), are *not* described by Mionnet as having the name IOYΛIA *written within a wreath*, but as having this name *written above a vine-leaf*, similar to the obverse type of no. 7, on p. 144. This observation does not, however, disprove their existence.

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